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An Historical Review

VOL. XV APRIL, 1933 NUMBER 4
NEW SERIES, VOL. IV

CONTENTS

Huet de la Valinière — Thomas P. Cleary

Early Catholic Colonization in Nebraska — M. Aquinata Martin

Nora Brewer Cudahy — Frederic Siedenburg

Documents—Letters of John Grassi, S. J. to Simon Bruté de Rémur, 1812-1832 — Thomas F. O'Connor

Book Reviews:

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531-1651; Williams, *Voodoos and Obeahs*; Gurn, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832*; Crepeau, *Le Père Samuel-Charles-Gaëtan Mazzuchelli, O.P.*; Sister Saint Ignatius, D. C., *Across Three Centuries: a History of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, 1625-1930*; Hentherne, *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States*; Donovan, *The Pre-Revolutionary Irish in Massachusetts, 1620-1775*; Gulliday (ed.), *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe*; Griffin, *The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America, (1523-1857)*; Fitzpatrick, *Donjon of Demeus; a Hero's Tale from the Jesuit Relations*; Meng, *The Comte de Vergennes: European Phases of his American Diplomacy, 1774-1780*; Munsey, *Franciscan Poets*; *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XXX; Meehan (ed.), *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. XX.

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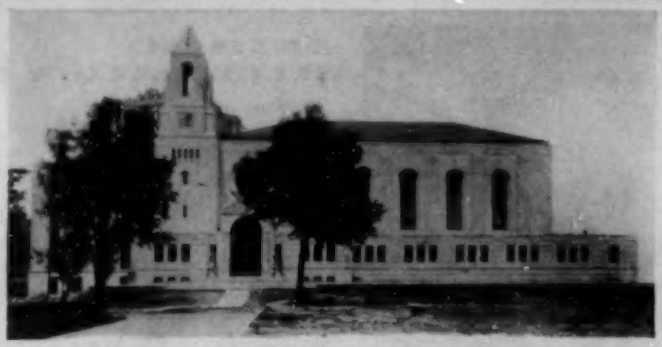

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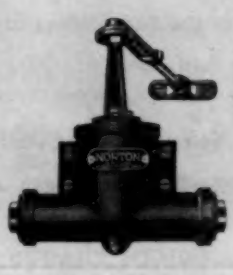

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St. Xavier College for Women 6

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CONTENTS

HUET DE LA VALINIÈRE — *Thomas F. Cleary* 213

EARLY CATHOLIC COLONIZATION IN NEBRASKA — *M. Aquinata Martin* 229

NORA BREWER CUDAHY — *Frederic Siedenburg* 238

DOCUMENTS—Letters of John Grassi, S. J. to Simon Bruté de Rémur, 1812-1832 — *Thomas F. O'Connor* 245

BOOK REVIEWS: 266

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531-1651; **Williams**, *Voodoos and Obeahs;* **Gurn**, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832;* **Crepeau**, *Le Père Samuel-Charles-Gaëtan Mazzuchelli, O. P.;* **Sister Saint Ignatius, D. C.**, *Across Three Centuries: a History of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, 1625-1930;* **Henthorne**, *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States;* **Donovan**, *The Pre-Revolutionary Irish in Massachusetts, 1620-1775;* **Guilday (ed.)**, *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe;* **Griffin**, *The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America, (1523-1857);* **Fitzpatrick**, *Donjon of Demons; a Hero's Tale from the Jesuit Relations;* **Meng**, *The Comte de Vergennes: European Phases of his American Diplomacy, 1774-1780;* **Musser**, *Franciscan Poets;* *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XXX; **Meehan (ed.)**, *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. XX.

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VOL. XV APRIL, 1933 NUMBER 4
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HUET DE LA VALINIÈRE

I

In consequence of the severance of the civil ties between the American colonies and England, the Vicar Apostolic of London voluntarily ceased to exercise his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the thirteen states in 1783. Representations of the American clergy moved the Congregation of Propaganda to recognize officially the altered political situation between the two nations by appointing Father John Carroll, Prefect Apostolic of the Catholic Church in the United States. Cardinal Antonelli informed the London Vicar Apostolic, Bishop James Talbot, June 19, 1784, that the former colonies of England would henceforth enjoy a more independent ecclesiastical status. Father Carroll was aware of his promotion and the nature of his faculties as early as August 20, 1784, although he did not receive official confirmation of these facts until November 26, 1784. Nearly five years later, November 6, 1789, Pope Pius VI ended this temporary arrangement by naming Father John Carroll the first Bishop of the United States.

During the colonial period the faith was maintained by continental and European priests. The Revolutionary War deterred European priests from coming to America, and, at the same time, the Bishops of Quebec could fairly plead the paucity of their clergy and the delicacy of the political situation as an excuse for failing to aid further the Church in the United States. The Society of Jesus, ever a fruitful source of vocations to the pioneer missionary field, had been expelled from the West by the Supreme Council of New Orleans in 1763, and Father Forget

Duverger, the last representative of the Foreign Missions, deserted his post at Cahokia in the same year.

Father Sebastian Meurin, the last of the Jesuits, with the permission of his civil and ecclesiastical superiors, remained behind and, laboring in the capacity of a secular priest, he formed an heroic human link between the ancient missions and the new regime. When Father Meurin, overcome by physical infirmities and the hardships of his scattered missions, appealed for aid, he obtained, as his co-laborer, in 1768, the youthful and vigorous Canadian, Father Pierre Gibault, who, about two years later, enjoyed the extensive faculties of a vicar-general.

Although Father Sebastian Meurin lived until February 23, 1777, the greater part of the task of caring for the Illinois missions devolved upon Father Gibault. The German Capuchin, Father Bernard de Limpach, resident pastor of the first canonical parish of St. Louis, (May 25, 1776) with the consent of Father Gibault attended the ancient parish of Cahokia just across the Mississippi River in Illinois. Ste. Genevieve on the Missouri side and Kaskaskia on the Illinois side because of their proximity could likewise be conveniently cared for by the same priest. About 1785, however, Father Gibault took up his residence at Vincennes, the much neglected parish on the Wabash River. Obviously one priest, however well intentioned and active, could not render justice to the various widely separated missions of Illinois in addition to Vincennes and Ste. Genevieve.

Several appeals for priests issued from the laity. A recently discovered manuscript dealing with the period under discussion states that as early as May 4, 1781, a Mr. Connard appealed to Marquis de la Lefevere for a missionary to serve in the Illinois country.[1] One of the principal inhabitants of Kaskaskia be-

[1] The original of this manuscript is preserved in the library of the Massachusetts' Historical Society, Boston, Mass. A photostatic copy is in the Illinois Historical Survey, Lincoln Bldg., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. The narrative, partly in prose and partly in doggerel, has two versions, French and English, each approximating 180,000 words. The following is the introduction: "To remain with the Notary of Kaskaskia. True and single [unbiased] account of the Rev'd. Peter Huet de la Valinière since he is arrived at the Illinois country the 20th of January, 1786. French and English." The first chapter begins the 22nd of June, 1786: "To be left to the house of the Register [Notary] with the public paper. But the Register Peter L'Anglois who was a true American, being dead, and his successor being a drunkard and of a weak temper in mind, it seemeth better to get this present book be divided and given in the proper hands of his Excellency the Hon'l. Governor, that it please him afterward to depose it, at his secretary's office." This official was Governor Arthur St. Clair, who began to exercise his authority in 1788, al-

sought Father Bernard de Limpach to procure a Capuchin from Germany, and another petition was sent to the Bishop of Quebec. Very probably it was in response to the first appeal that Father Paul de St. Pierre, a former chaplain in Rochambeau's army, decided to cast his lot among the French in the West. We have his own statement to the effect that he was pledged to work among the French in America and that he preferred the labor of an active ministry among the faithful to the formal, exacting, routine services at the French embassy.[2]

The only obstacle to Father St. Pierre's enrollment among the American clergy was his supposed lack of faculties and proper credentials from his Superiors in Europe. Father St. Pierre appealed to Father Farmer, the Vicar-General of Dr. Carroll of Baltimore, for faculties July 19, 1783, by letter, and late in the next year apparently he had a personal interview with Father Farmer at Philadelphia who recommended that Father Carroll grant the approbation which the Carmelite desired. Without obtaining specific authorization from the Prefect Apostolic, Father St. Pierre departed for the West and, on the advice of Father Gibault, accepted the pastorate of Ste. Genevieve from the Spanish authorities, May 18, 1785. He retained this pastorate until July 10, 1786, about three weeks after the arrival of Father de la Valinière. While pastor of the Spanish parish, Father St. Pierre attended Kaskaskia, and was residing at Kaskaskia when Father de la Valinière arrived. From February 18, 1786, until September 1789, when he returned to Ste. Genevieve, Father St. Pierre acted as pastor of the old Tamaroa Indian Mission at Cahokia at that time composed almost exclusively of French people. He was succeeded by Father Guignes in 1786 at Ste. Genevieve. The Cahokia parish built a house to replace the building irreparably ruined by the English and American troops who had employed it as a barrack, expending for this purpose almost five thousand livres. In the summer of 1787, the Cahokians projected the erection of a church on which they intended to spend above fifteen or sixteen thousand livres. The church was completed under Father

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though he did not arrive in Kaskaskia before March 5, 1790. Pierre L'Anglois died in 1789. His Ms. narrative is a partisan document and its statements are to be accepted with caution.

[2] *American Catholic Historical Researches,* Farmer to Carroll, V, No. 1, p. 28. Cited subsequently as ACHR.

Michel Levadoux and was blessed by Vicar General Rivet, pastor of Vincennes, in 1799.

As late as January 20, 1790, Father Carroll had not made up his mind about the ecclesiastical standing of Father St. Pierre. As Father Rothensteiner clearly proves, the Carmelite priest was fully entitled to exercise his ministry in Illinois, since he could claim authorization from two distinct sources of ecclesiastical power.[3] In the first place, the decree which permitted the Prefect Apostolic to grant faculties only to those immigrant priests approved by the Sacred Congregation did not apply to Father St. Pierre. In a letter accompanying the aforesaid decree Cardinal Antonelli communicated to all the priests then residing in the United States, all the faculties which he gave to Father Carroll himself except the right to administer confirmation. Secondly, the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec over the Illinois country was still in force, and Father Pierre Gibault, Vicar-General of the Canadian Bishop, had the unquestionable right to authorize Father St. Pierre to exercise his priestly functions in Illinois.

Many unpleasant consequences resulted from this confusion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the state of Illinois. Spiritual disorder was added to the social, political, and economic disorganization and disintegration which then plagued the State. Vigorous administrative ability, even ardent zeal for justice might have provoked no clanging discords had these attributes been mingled with tact and timely reticence. Unavoidable friction followed the co-mingling of frontier types unadjusted to each other and to the novel mould in which their lives were cast. Absence of orderly civil government gave free rein to the naturally antagonistic bent of the various factions differing in race, customs, and culture. One important source of friction might, however, have been avoided had ecclesiastical authority functioned opportunely and quietly.

II

The policy of governing frontier sections of the country by vicars-general who lacked the authority and influence necessary

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[3] Rothensteiner, Rev. John, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, Missouri, I, 159. See also *Ill. Historical Collections*, Vol. V, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 590-592, Bishop Carroll to Father Gibault. *Ibid.*, 581-582. Bishop Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, May 5, 1788. *Ibid.*, pp. 587-590. Bishop of Quebec to Bishop Carroll, Oct. 6, 1788.

for successful organization was pursued until 1808. Bishop Benedict Flaget, who took possession of the See of Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1811, was close enough to make a personal visitation of the Illinois parishes. Bishop Carroll, harassed by many pressing problems, was obliged to trust to the slow medium of correspondence for his information and, therefore, was never abreast of the current events in Illinois. As the Catholics in Illinois were Canadians, Father Carroll was glad to avail himself of the French Sulpician, Father Huet de la Valinière, who was then laboring among the French Acadians in New York.

The new vicar-general had the advantages of maturity and wide experience. He had been ordained in Canada by Bishop Pontbriand about 1755 at the age of twenty-three and was, therefore, at this time about fifty-four years of age. As Seminary professor and pastor in various Canadian parishes he had demonstrated that he possessed sufficient learning and ability to occupy almost any position in the missionary field, although, as later events proved, he lacked the kind of experience he needed in Illinois. "In no way deficient in wit or parts," as his inveterate enemy, Governor Haldimand conceded, "he was, nevertheless, fiery, factious, and turbulent."[4] Father Valinière's militant defense of the American cause involved him in difficulties with his clerical confreres, embarrassed his Superiors, and naturally provoked the unrelenting hostility of the English officials. "Observe, please," Bishop Hubert wrote to Bishop Carroll, "that M. de la Valinière is a man of very good morals, but that, as we have experienced in Canada, his turbulent spirit is capable of causing much trouble to his associates."[5]

The period 1778 to 1785, which synchronized with the conquest of the Northwest Territory, the close of the Revolutionary War, and the breakdown of orderly government in Illinois, were years of tragedy for Father de la Valinière. When demotions to obscure parishes failed to render him quiescent, he was dealt with by the Canadian government in a manner that foreshadowed the fate of Napoleon. "A remote country where some inspection may be had over his conduct," appealed to the Governor as an appropriate residence for the priest who was of "disservice to the British interests."[6] Governor Haldimand

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[4] Alvord, C. W., *Kaskaskia Records*, p. xi. Griffin, Martin, L. J., ACHR, New Series, No. 111, XXIII, 212-219; 221-223; 225-236.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 586, Letter of Hubert to Bishop Carroll, Oct. 3, 1788.

[6] Griffin, Martin, J., ACHR, XXIII, 203 *et. seq.*

applied this principle by detaining de la Valinière as a prisoner on board ship for about seven months after forcing him to embark for England in the fall of 1779. When the charge of treason against him broke down, the priest was allowed to set sail for France at his own expense. Escaping from a shipwreck with the loss of his remaining possessions he was obliged to travel on foot through France. Having recuperated his shattered health with his brother Sulpicians at Nantes, he collected a small inheritance and sailed for San Domingo, where he contracted the yellow fever.[7]

Bishop Briand was dead when Father de la Valinière, whose aggressive spirit was unbroken, returned to Canada in 1785, but Hamilton was alive and unappeased. Both the Bishop of Quebec and the Superior of the Seminary were ill at ease while de la Valinière remained in Canada, Father Carroll was badly in need of priests; accordingly, the Sulpician found no difficulty in taking up his residence in the United States.

Father de la Valinière's own account is contained in a petition addressed probably in April, 1789, to his Excellency Arthur St. Clair,[8] Governor of "the new State of Ohio":

> The petition of the Rev. Pierre Huet de la Valinière, Minister of Kaskaskias humbly showeth that from commencement of the late ever memorable contest for the honor and happiness of the human race your petitioner has, in an essential manner, distinguished himself by every exertion which his principals inspired, or his fortitude support; neither he has been free with his life and fortune; the latter, I appeal only to first, being sent from Canada to England a prisoner. It is therefore in consequence of my zeal for the American cause that I now petition for a redress of the grievances I at present labor under and flatter myself (from your well known candor) I shall meet with that justice which every faithful citizen of America is entitled to. Your petitioner, on his return from imprisonment, presented himself to the Hon. Congress and has been honorably received by the most Rev. Apostolical priest who is the chief or overseer of all the Romish congregations in the United States, and obtained from him the choice to go either to Charleston, South Carolina, or to Kaskaskias where the French boasted that they had a church, a clergy house and an honest yearly income for a minister. He preferred, therefore, the last place to the other; and was at considerable expenses to come here thinking he would be much better received by a people who had so long solicited for a priest, they

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[7] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, p. xii.

[8] Arthur St. Clair, former President of the Continental Congress, became Governor of the Northwest Territory in 1788 under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. He arrived in Kaskaskia, March 5, 1790, and in the following month organized St. Clair Co., which he gave the three judicial districts of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia.

having presented three petitions (without speaking of the other that they presented to Canada, to France, and Germany) for that.[9]

At that time Father de la Valinière was endeavoring to collect his unpaid salary which, including the cost of his journey to the Illinois and over three years of service, amounted to twelve thousand, one hundred and five gold livres or two thousand four hundred and twenty-one dollars in gold or coin. The greater part of this sum, he contended, represented a mere reimbursement for the expenses he had incurred in the performance of his duty, expenses which he met from his own private resources for the bishop of the Church. In a similar petition addressed to a judge of the Kaskaskia Court, Father de la Valinière states that he came west in response to an invitation from several inhabitants of Kaskaskia. This latter petition for a priest was presented by Francis Carbonneau, a former notary of the Kaskaskia Court, to Father Maurice Whelan, a Capuchin of New York, who transmitted the appeal to Father Carroll with a recommendation that Father de la Valinière be appointed to Kaskaskia.

Proceeding westward via Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, Father de la Valinière rode on horseback while his baggage was transported by wagon to the Ohio River, whence he continued his journey by boat. As he turned northward from the Ohio, he "fortunately met with" a Mr. Calais, a frequent visitor at the home of the Magistrate Louis Brazeau. The affable and courteous Mr. Calais was well-versed in the political gossip of Kaskaskia. Acting as an emissary of the Magistrate Brazeau, who was one of the signers of certain accusations against Father de la Valinière, September 21, 1787, Mr. Calais "did help" the priest "very much to come up the Mississippi, and advised the Vicar General to say nothing in behalf of the American people," adding that "Mr. St. Pierre, at his first arrival, speaking in their behalf, had not been well received, which perceiving, he had soon changed his speech, and so was agreeably wellcome everywhere. Beside that there is one man whom one must to avoid for that man said he, is allways [*sic*] seeking and reading his Registry (for he is the public Register) and by that reason he is the cause of great many suit of law. His name, said he, is Peter L'Anglois (they have some reason to fear lest anyone

[9] Massachusetts Historical Society Library, *op. cit.*, p. 183. (Cited subsequently as L'Anglois Ms.). Petition to Governor St. Clair.

read the book of Registry). This advice occasioned the Rev. Minister to examine carefully whether all this was true or not."[10]

Subsequent events fully vindicated this sententious, piquant characterization of the contentious, recalcitrant scribe, Peter L'Anglois. Unfortunately, the logic of circumstances conspired to throw Father de la Valinière into intimate association with this kindred spirit. Immediately upon arriving at Kaskaskia, June 20, 1786, the enterprising Vicar-General, deeply conscious of the attested purity of his own patriotism, made the rounds of the principal inhabitants of the village to whom he spoke openly in behalf of the American nation; his auditors maintained, at first a stubborn "forced silence" and finally as the priest, despite their mute disapproval, continued in the same strain, they broke out into open criticism of the Americans they had hitherto known. One of the villagers, Jean Baptiste Beauvais, assured him that all Americans and their supporters were rogues.[11]

A number of the influential French were the friends of John Dodge, who was "the most wicked fellow that America had nourished in her bosom." The principal inhabitants included Mr. Jean Baptiste Beauvais *dit* St. Jaime (St. Gemme or St. Jeme), Mr. Janis, Caillot *dit* Lachanse, Vital Beauvais, Louis Brazeau *dit* Kaisra, Charle Charleville and, "especially the most respectable widows of the village" as Mme. Françoise Brazeau, her daughter, Mme. Jean Bte. Charleville, Mme. de Lisle and Mme. Jannot *dit* la Chapelle.[12] Later, Father de la Valinière

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[10] L'Anglois Ms., p. 4.

[11] Jean Bte. Beauvais and Raphael Beauvais came to Kaskaskia in 1725. Vital and Jean Bte. were sons of Jean Bte. Beauvais Sr. Jean Bte. Beauvais Jr. married Marie Therese Boucher de Monbreun. Jean Bte. Beauvais was Magistrate in the Kaskaskia Court when it was suppressed by Richard Winston, leader of the minority American faction. He was reappointed Justice of the Peace at Kaskaskia May 18, 1787, by the County lieutenant, Barbau.

[12] Nicholas Janis, referred to here, was born in France. As captain of the militia, he served under the British and Americans; he loyally accepted the conquest of Illinois by General Clark and offered material assistance to the American troops. He was appointed Justice in the Kaskaskia Court in the spring of 1779. Nicholas Caillot *dit* Lachanse was elected judge in 1779 and 1787. Following the abolition of the Kaskaskia court by Richard Winston in 1872 Lachanse aligned himself with the party of John Dodge. Brazeau Sr. was elected as judge of the Kaskaskia court in 1782. His sister Françoise married Jean Bte. Charleville. Charles Charleville of an old Kaskaskia family was appointed justice by Todd, May 21, 1779. Bazile Janot *dit* La Chapelle was born in 1741, married, 1767, Marie Elizabeth Choquet and came to Kaskaskia after 1770

called upon two others who at the time impressed him with their patriotism: Mr. Monbreun, the acting county lieutenant, who "boasted himself to have served in the late American War against the English, and Mr. Antoine Morin who boasted also himself for having, said he, saved from the hands of the enemies of the America here a French officer, named the LeBrun who served for the Americans." About a year later, Father de la Valinière had good cause to believe that at this time, they disguised from him their true sentiments. But, at the time, they had the ear of the unsuspecting Vicar-General, an opportunity which they employed to their own advantage.

Two days after his arrival, Father de la Valinière invited all the inhabitants to his public reception. All the aforesaid principal inhabitants failed to appear with the exception of two, Mr. Monbreun and Pierre L'Anglois. Neither one of these two gentlemen succeeded in promoting harmony in the community. Mr. Monbreun had been appointed deputy county lieutenant to Richard Winston, the acting county lieutenant, January 8, 1783. Apparently Father St. Pierre had placed before the assembly such credentials as he possessed and duly received from the Vicar-General of Father Carroll formal permission to continue his pastoral authority at Cahokia, which he had exercised for several months.

To the confident and pugnacious partisan of de la Valinière we are indebted for many colorful details which add nothing to the foregoing facts, but contribute much to the understanding of subsequent events.

> All the persons named in the first chapter [the prominent members of Kaskaskia whom Father de la Valinière visited] who lived at Kaskaskia, when the Rev. P. Huet de la Valinière arrived there and who refused to come at the assembly for his reception, seeing they had not yet had time enough to take their measure for the promised support of Mr. S. Pierre, whom they had counselled to resist, thought in themselves that their coming to the congregation with all others, and paying at least some rights due to it, could not hinder them to profit the first opportunity for showing their constant fidelity for the said Mr. S. Pierre.[13]

Obviously the new priest was on trial before the Kaskaskia public; the congregation had not yet determined to transfer their affection or their tithes to him. Inferentially, we may

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with his wife and son Bazile. (*Kaskaskia Records*, V. S. p. 415). Madame de Lisle contributed to the support of the American troops in 1779 and signed the petition to the Governor of Virginia May 4, 1781.

[13] L'Anglois Ms., p. 36.

conclude that the parish had not fulfilled the latter duty with promptitude or measurable unanimity during the administration of Father St. Pierre who could succeed in maintaining himself by reason of the salary he received from the Spanish government as pastor of Ste. Genevieve, while his successor at Kaskaskia was dependent upon tithes or voluntary offerings for his support.

The attempt of de la Valinière to induce his parishioners to contribute systematically was not very successful: "they did pay the first year but half of due tithes . . . and this year [1787] not a quarter . . . yet they consent only in the 26th part of their corn."[14] In this period of transition, many ancient customs, as payments in kind, were falling into desuetude; but the Kaskaskians, unlike the Cahokians, were unwilling to offer a substitute.

In addition to this version of the preliminary events attending the appointment, arrival and establishment of the new priest, we have the account of Father de la Valinière himself:

> The first petition [for a priest] was signed by all the inhabitants here [Kaskaskia] and was carried by M. John Francis Connard and addressed to the French ambassador requesting him to apply to the hon'l the Congress for leave to have a Priest and praying that Gentleman to procure them a good one; the 2nd petition signed by many of the same inhabitants was carried by M. Francis Carbonneau who presented it not only to the Hon'l the Congress, but also to the Rev'd. M. Whelan named P. Maurice whose letter concerning that matter is still in the book of Registry of the Parish dated from New York, March 6th, 1785, and the said Revd. Father Maurice invited your Petitioner to come in his place.[15] The third petition was one letter received by the Reverendissime M. Carroll from the same M. S. Pierre [Mr. St. Pierre], who is now the cause of all troubles. Wherefore your Petitioner [Father de la Valinière] was commissioned the 19th of April, 1786 by the said M. Carroll, chief of the

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[14] L'Anglois Ms., p. 36.

[15] Father Maurice Whelan, an Irish Capuchin who had served as a chaplain in the fleet of De Grasse, organized the Church in New York City. In a letter of Father Farmer April, 1785, to Father Carroll appear these interesting statements: "The above reverend gentleman [Father Whelan] informed me that a Canadian gentleman, an agent from the Illinois to Congress, having been there six months, made him the proposal of a parish or parishes in those parts which he said would come to one thousand pound sterling per annum. The reverend father showed me even a pass thither from the president of Congress, and the Canadian gentleman offered to defray all his expenses. But he declined going at present, being intent as he told me, to make first an establishment in New York. Another reason might have been what he heard last fall of me, to wit, that the Carmelite Friar [St. Pierre] his old friend and acquaintance, was gone thither."

Roman Congregation of the 13 United States, to act as his Vicar who, notwithstanding his grey hairs and the great risk and pain [difficulties] attending his journey, surmounted all difficulties and arrived at Kaskaskias the 20th of June 1786.

There he found at the Priest house the above named M. S. Pierre who stiled himself a Friard Carmelite having no commission nor any ordination's proof with him.

Notwithstanding the said M. S. Pierre the day following refused to acknowledge or submit to your clearly proved and commissioned Petitioner saying he was sensible the inhabitants would support him. In consequence of which your Petitioner convoked an Assembly, and after a sermon to the Congregation the writing brought by him [the credentials brought by Father de la Valinière] were proved true and good, allowed by the said S. Pierre, who disallowed it before, and two certificates, which the said M. Pierre presented, proved to be false.

Your Petitioner was, therefore, received by the Congregation, all the members of which came to his instructions and paid at least some part of the rights: a year afterward he was treated in the most scandalous manner by part of the principal citizens particularly by those who exercise the court of justice [the French magistrates or justices who administered the old French Court at Kaskaskia, Illinois] and are in commission at the head of the Militia; [so] that not only his character [by them or at their instigation] has been defamed, but his life has been endangered without any recourse to the administration of Justice, [this] being in their hands.[16]

For the moment, however, this question of the ecclesiastical appointment was adjusted amicably. The Notary, Pierre L'Anglois who recorded all public acts, now interjects his comments: "The said M. S. Pierre, who one day before had promised he would not go away because he was certain to be supported by the inhabitants, and being now confounded did submit himself, asked the permit to go to Kaokia [Cahokia] and begged the power, used in the Congregation for administering his duty there, and the Rev'd Mr. de la Valinière gave him his consent with the said power."

III

Father de la Valinière spent over three years at Kaskaskia. Space does not permit a recital of his experiences during this period which included various troubles with members of his flock and disputes with neighboring pastors over questions of

[16] L'Anglois Ms. This selection is not paged in the originals. The account is a petition made to Governor Arthur St. Clair by Father de la Valinière in an attempt to secure the money due him from the Kaskaskians.

jurisdiction. One outstanding fact was that he did not receive from his parishioners the material support to which he was entitled.

Spurred to the task by the sad realization that the majority of his parishioners had resolved to betake themselves to the other side of the Mississippi and fully alive to the fact that many influential citizens had made no serious effort to contribute to his subsistence or to indemnify him for his expenses, Father de la Valinière made a serious belated effort to enforce his financial rights. In a formal petition, June 7, 1788, he addressed himself to the honorable Antoine Buyat, Magistrate of the Court of Justice at Kaskaskia. Conformably to custom, Justice Buyat ordered that the warden of the church should read aloud this document at an assembly convoked for the following day. Although the proposed meeting did not materialize, the petition was duly affixed to the parish church door accompanied by the justice's threat to pursue with the "rigour of the law" whosoever should tear it down.

Apparently the ancient church door was the ancestor of the vox populi column of our metropolitan newspapers. Objections to the petition were recorded thereon by the niggardly community and appropriately answered by the priest. This continued until June 24, 1788, when the document was badly defaced. On the same day, Antoine Morin informed Michel Pelletier *dit* Antaya that many persons were disposed to drive out the priest and to send him down the Mississippi River in a canoe in order that they might not be obliged to pay his salary.

In his second petition, addressed to Arthur St. Clair, "governor of the New State of Ohio," Father de la Valinière, summarizes the contents of his former petition to the Kaskaskia Court and refers to the contemptuous manner in which this request for a just recompense for his services was received by the fomenters of disorder in the parish. Although he "could or should perhaps ask a public reparation far above their capacity, when compared to the wrongs they have done him, he, on the contrary, craved pardon for them and besought the payment of him of twelve thousand, one hundred and five livres in coined money which was but the third part of what was due him." He continued:

> And suppose they would now settle a fixed and honest maintenance for him (which seems to be impossible) yet he could not be in security with such enemies who being so near the Spanish side, and have long

been disposed to flee to it, may undertake after the declaration of their crime (more, if possible) than they did before.

Wherefore there is no time, for your Petitioner to lose a moment, and the principal authors of his misfortunes running away dayly to the Spanish side, he humbly beseeches your Excellency to stop directly four of them (and decree that) their property be seized [*sic*] to wit; M. Janis, S. Jeme Beauvais, Vital, his brother and M. Louviere who liveth at the Prairie du Rocher, till they have paid the said money, for which they may have their recourse for recovery on the other inhabitants, these four persons having always been at the head of the people especially in all bad actions that concerned the petitioner. Wherefore by doing that you'll render justice to your Petitioner who being in duty bound will pray for you and the prosperity of all the United States, being with the utmost respect of your Excellency, the most humble and obedient servant.

P. Huet de la Valinière.[17]

Since Father de la Valinière dated his commission from April 19, 1786, and asserted that his three years' salary began at that date, the petition to Governor St. Clair was probably written in April, 1789. During the summer, the priest must have depared from Illinois, for Bishop Carroll in a letter to Father Gibault January 20, 1790, writes as follows: "It has been a long time since I have received news from M. de la Valinière. A merchant from New York told me he had seen him at New Orleans in the month of August (1789) and that he was planning to come here by sea."[18]

In the same communication Bishop Carroll refers to Father Le Dru, a Dominican from Canada, who was in Kaskaskia for some time in 1789, but who had departed for St. Louis in November of the same year. Father Le Dru remained at St. Louis until 1794.[19]

In September, 1789, Father Gibault succeeded Father de la Pierre at Cahokia but remained there only for a brief period. John Rice Jones writing to Major John Hamtramck October 29, 1789, offers some information on the location of the various priests at that time, and incidentally confirms some strictures of Father de la Valinière concerning the Catholics of Illinois:

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[17] Petition of Father de la Valinière to Gov. St. Clair. L'Anglois Ms.

[18] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, p. 592. Father de la Valinière died in Canada in 1806.

[19] Father Le Dru was at Kaskaskia in September, 1789, since John Edgar in enclosing a communication to General Josiah Harmar with a letter of Major John Hamtramck to the same official writes: "We beg your answer by the return of the bearer, addressed to the Rev'd Mr. Le Dru, our Priest, who signs this in his name, and at the request of the inhabitants."

Your answer to the Petition sent by you to M. Le Dru and Mr. Edgar was opened by the former, who, unable to reside in a county of anarchy, and (I believe) the most miserable in America, has accepted the cure of St. Louis, to which place he is gone and will take possession in the 1st of next month. He has often declared to me, that he would not remove from this side even after St. Louis was offered to him; but when he came to receive his tithes which ought to furnish him with necessaries until the ensuing crop, he found that he had not wherewith to support him two months, as the most part of the inhabitants have refused to pay him, so that he was in a manner compelled to accept the offer made him. He met with no better usage than Mr. de la Valinière and Mr. Gibault before him did; and I am well persuaded that any other priest will not find a better reception until the establishment of a government. Mr. St. Pierre, the priest of Kaho [Cahokia] is now priest of St. Genevieve, and I am informed that Mr. Gibault is to have the offer of L'Ainse a la Graisse [New Madrid, Mo.] where there is a commanding officer and twenty soldiers newly arrived from New Orleans . . .[20]

The superior financial attractions of the Spanish territory was an important although by no means the sole inducement which drew the pioneer priests away from the Illinois missions. It is hardly conceivable that the self-assertive, restless clergy of this period could have accepted enthusiastically the governmental supervision that was inseparable from their economic independence of the Spanish territory. Besides, Fathers St. Pierre and Gibault, in particular, had proven themselves superior to mercenary considerations by devoting themselves to the neglected parishes of Illinois, at a time when they might have lived elsewhere in comparative ease. Father Gibault had exchanged about fifteen hundred dollars worth of personal property for scrip of negligible value in order to assist General George Rogers Clark in the American occupation. As a partial compensation for his losses, the patriot priest endeavored to secure a small portion of the Cahokia mission property for his own use. Governor St. Clair was willing to grant the few acres which Father Gibault desired, but Bishop Carroll, who consistently refused to tolerate any invasion of the rights of the church, vigorously opposed the proposed alienation of this portion of the old Tamaroa Mission property. The two letters written by Bishop Carroll, in May, 1792, to the Bishop of Quebec refer to this subject.[21]

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[20] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, p. 514.

[21] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. 599-602. Legally the obligation of the Catholic parishes to pay tithes in Spanish territory ended with the decree of April 22, 1787, although the custom continued with the toleration

In addition to the civil anarchy and ecclesiastical disorder in Illinois, Father Gibault had to contend with the unfriendly attitudes of Bishop Carroll and Bishop Hubert. The Bishop of Quebec informed Bishop Carroll that Father Gibault had been nominated Vicar-General of the Illinois County about twenty years prior to this date (Oct. 3, 1788) but the episcopal See of Quebec had "twice changed its incumbent without his faculties having been renewed. Complaints of different kinds, especially a suspicion of treason towards the government, caused my predecessors to entertain some antipathy towards him, so much so that I propose to give him no employment for the future that would be easier for you to do. . . . Nevertheless, if you judge it proper to continue him as a missionary, I ratify in advance all that you may be pleased to ordain them, either in regard to him or to other missionaries now or to be sent."[22]

When Father de la Valinière made his final plea for his rights he spoke "also in the name of the poor unguilty and honest men who desired to stay peaceably." At Kaskaskia a significant detail, illustrative of the unfortunate plight of this element, is the statement of the priest that Mr. Jeme Beauvais was urging the departing villagers to carry with them the old church bell which summoned their abandoned brethren to worship. "Every effort is made use of by the Spanish government," John Rice Jones informed Major Hamtramck, "to depopulate this side—one step towards it, is taking their Priests from them, well knowing that the people will not remain where there are no pastors."[23]

Constantly menaced by thieving, plundering savages kept restless and aggressive by semi-barbarous whites, of whom John Dodge and Michel Pelletier *dit* Antaya[24] were typical examples, it is not surprising that the unshepherded inhabitants of the desolate village of Kaskaskia went from bad to worse. Their

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of the civil officials, Father Gibault received in 1769 from the parish of Ste. Genevieve three hundred bushels of wheat and 500-600 bushels of corn. Father Bernard de Limpach estimated his annual tithes at eighty dollars. In addition, the Spanish government granted the priests a salary of six hundred dollars a year. On the American side, the tithes ceased to be legally enforceable about the same time. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 177.

[22] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, p. 589. Father Gibault probably died at New Madrid in 1804.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 516.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 515. Dodge, Antaya and others led an armed marauding band of Indians at midnight, October 8, 1789, into Kaskaskia.

sad history should mitigate their guilt and soften the harsh criticism they received seven years later from the great and good Father Richard: "The people at this post are the worst in all Illinois; there is no religion among them, scarcely anyone attending mass, even on Sunday; intemperance, debauchery and idleness are supreme."[25]

It is useless to speculate as to who was most blameworthy, the people or their superiors, civil and ecclesiastical, for this situation. When the Sulpicians as a well-disciplined, compact body, acting under definite orders from their Superiors took over the West, a new regime was ushered in. Bishop Flaget and Fathers Richard, Levadoux and Rivet completed the task at which their brother Sulpician de la Valinière had failed.

One parting comment may not be unnecessary. Nearly one hundred and fifty years separate us from the actors in the post-revolutionary period, who dwelt upon a rude frontier. From the public documents of this time, filled with charges and countercharges buttressed by profanity and invective, we may infer the behavior of the pioneer in his daily acts and conversation. Had the clergy in dealing with their flocks carefully observed the social amenities, or had the official class, priests, and magistrates maintained a dignified reserve in their mutual relations, many causes of friction would have been removed, and the laity would have retained more respect for authority

THOMAS F. CLEARY

Philo, Illinois

[25] J. A. Girardin, "Life & Times of Gabriel Richard," *Michigan Pioneer Collections.*

EARLY CATHOLIC COLONIZATION IN NEBRASKA

II

One of the earliest attempts at colonizing the Territory of Nebraska after its organization in 1854 came as a result of a convention which met in Buffalo "for the purpose of encouraging Irish Catholics of the seaboard cities of the United States to remove to the western States and Canada." This convention was sponsored by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, well-known journalist, brilliant lecturer, and radical Irish patriot. Its delegates came from eleven states ranging from Massachusetts to Iowa and southward to Virginia, and there were, besides, numerous Canadian members.[1]

Bishop Loras of Dubuque, Iowa, had been a great advocate of organized colonization and had written many letters on the subject to the Catholic papers of the eastern states; these are found especially in the Boston *Pilot* and the New York *Freeman's Journal.* The Buffalo Convention, therefore, had his approval and enthusiastic support. One of the delegates to the convention was "Rev. Mr. Trecy, Sioux City,"[2] the personal representative of Bishop Loras.[3]

Father Jeremiah Trecy was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1825 and came to the United States with his parents in 1836. He was ordained at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1851, where he did missionary work and organized the Garry Owen Settlement. In 1854 Bishop Loras sent him to the territory bordering on the Missouri River, which accounts for his location in Sioux City at the time of the Buffalo Convention.[4] When Bishop Miége

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[1] "The Emigrant Convention in Buffalo," *The Catholic,* XII, No. 52, March 1, 1856. Copy in the Monsignor Michael Shine Collection, Lincoln Diocesan Archives.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Rev. Louis de Ceilly, *Memoirs of Bishop Loras,* Introduction by Archbishop Ireland, pp. xxxiii-xxxv.

[4] An unpublished manuscript in the Library of the University of Notre Dame, notes prepared by Rev. Peter Cooney, C. S. C., for a history of Civil War chaplains. Father Cooney served in the same regiment with Father Trecy. It seems probable that the information contained in the notes was procured from Father Trecy. Frank J. Burkley, K. S. G., prominent Catholic and Omaha printer, godson of Father Trecy, in a pamphlet entitled *A Pioneer Missionary,* gives the date of his birth as 1821, and of his ordination as June 24, 1850. Mr. Burkley states, however, that Father Trecy was assigned immediately to St. Raphael's Cathedral, Dubuque, and that his first recorded baptismal ceremony was on July 13,

paid his first visit to Nebraska in May, 1855, at which time he requested Father Trecy to take care of the spiritual interests of the people in the vicinity of Omaha, St. John's, near the present town of Jackson, had not been founded. It seems evident, however, from records now available that Father Trecy had planned a colony for that locality. *A History of Dakota County* (1893) by M. M. Warner, says: "Father Trecy and his brother, John J. Trecy arrived from Dubuque, Iowa, June 25, 1855, in search of a location to establish a colony."[5]

The Buffalo Convention was convened early in 1856. Shortly after the meeting a circular was sent out which stated: "In the interim, the Board will employ its energies in selecting the first township, to be called St. Patrick's and which they expect to be mapped out, a depot erected for the stores of the settlers, and otherwise ready for settlement by the first day of June." The plan was realized for on the second day of June, 1856, eighteen oxen-driven wagons and about sixty persons, accompanied by Father Trecy, arrived at the proposed site of the Nebraska colony. In this group were Father Trecy's mother, father, brother, and widowed sister.[6] A town was surveyed and platted by June 24 and called St. John's in memory of the Baptist, whose feast it was.

This foundation was the only accomplishment of the Buffalo Convention. Many thought that its scheme for Canadian colonization would give the impression of flight from the Know Nothing activities of that period. The greatest opposition, however, was due to the radical impetuosity of the promoter, D'Arcy McGee. The chief opponent was Archbishop Hughes of New York.[7] Archbishop Ireland has this to say about this early effort at organized colonization:

1851. It is hardly probable that a whole year went by without his administering the sacrament. See also for further data on Father Trecy, MID-AMERICA, XIV (April, 1932), 269 *et seq.*

[5] F. J. Burkley, K. S. G., *A Pioneer Missionary*, and Gertrude Henderson, "Father Trecy's Colonization Scheme," *The Iowa Catholic Historical Review* III (Oct., 1931, 1-13) say that there were seven men in this party, John Trecy among them. St. John's "was commenced on the 24th of June, 1855, with a congregation of 11 souls; the number today [1859] is over 1500 souls." Father Trecy's own memorandum. It is possible that Father Trecy orginially wrote 150. Cf. MID-AMERICA, *loc. cit.*

[6] In some documents Father Trecy's name is spelled Tracy, but he himself used the "e."

[7] D'Arcy McGee, in the columns of the New York *Nation* laid the blame for the failure of the Irish Revolution of 1848 on the priesthood and hierarchy of Ireland who had discouraged the people. Archbishop Hughes defended the position of the Irish clergy. The controversy was

It is today beyond doubt that had the enlightened views of D'Arcy McGee, and of those who took part with him in the famous Buffalo colonizing convention of 1856, been duly encouraged and pushed to a favorable issue, the Catholic Church would be immensely more prosperous in all the Western States than ever again she can hope to be, and tens of thousands of Catholic families would have gained happy homes and an honorable competence upon the land, instead of having gone down to ruin in the fierce maelstrom of large cities.[8]

The idea underlying the effort, the encouragement of the Irish Catholics of the seaboard cities to go on the land, was afterward revived by the Irish Catholic Colonization Association with better success.

In March, 1857, Father Trecy, being in New York City, was invited to relate his experiences at a public meeting held to promote emigration to the West. After his address, in which he had made a plea for his colony, he was bitterly denounced by Archbishop Hughes. The Archbishop protested that he was not against individual emigration to the West but was militantly opposed to any colonization scheme, especially one promoted by a priest.[9]

The fate of the convention's colony reflected its vicissitudes. The winter following its foundation was intensely cold. It is said that for forty days the thermometer did not register above the freezing point and the snow stood four feet deep on the level. The isolation and the suffering of these newly arrived colonists were extreme; most of them, if not all, were living in homes dug into the side of the hills, and, with scant stores of provisions, were walled in by the snow drifts. The wheat crop of the following summer failed, though the corn crop was fair. Then came the national panic of 1857 and the demand in the

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public and marked by much bitterness. McGee afterward regretted this episode, calling it the great mistakes of his life. The *American Celt*, the official organ of the Buffalo Convention, was edited by Mr. McGee. It was, therefore, his connection with the convention which particularly aroused the enmity of the Archbishop.

[8] Rev. Louis de Ceilly, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

[9] In trying to preserve the balance of the Irish people in America against the radicalism that was prevalent, the Archbishop leaned toward a conservative attitude that distrusted every scheme for promoting any distinctly Irish movement. He opposed organized colonization because it seemed to him a further development of "Irishism." (The word is his own. *Works of Archbishop John Hughes*, II, 690.) The Archbishop distinguished what he called an artificial colonization from the natural process of a gradual drifting of individuals. While he knew that there were many good men, actuated by disinterested motives, connected with the Buffalo Convention, the Archbishop maintained that all were under the influence of land agents, who had a pecuniary interest in the movement.

spring of 1858 that the colonists "prove up" on their land. Some borrowed money at a rate of interest as high as 40%, others abandoned their claims, while all who could went back to the East. Father Trecy gave himself whole-heartedly to his colony, his charity extending likewise to the scattered Catholics of the surrounding country and the Indians; but the failure of the convention plus the extreme climatic conditions and the financial distress of the country at large, rendered his efforts fruitless. The outcome was distressing:

> The early days of the colonists were made unhappy by the privation, hardships, and dangers incident to attempts to found colonies in the wilderness. The colonists suffered so much from the intense cold of the Dakota blizzards, and were often placed in such imminent peril by the attacks of the Indians that they became so incensed against Father Trecy for having led them to perish in the desert, that he had to fly to escape the consequences of their indignation.[10]

Archbishop Hughes's prophecy pronounced at the memorable meeting in New York City would seem to have been fulfilled: "The day will come when these men will be embittered in their hearts against those who have disturbed them from their homes.[11] Father Cooney's manuscript says that Father Trecy, at his own request, was ordered to the South in 1859, his health having been greatly affected by labor and exposure in the rigorous climate of the Northwest.[12]

At the greatest extent the colony numbered approximately two hundred, small groups having come from time to time in the intervening years. Father Trecy had not succeeded in building a church. The walls for a log structure were erected in the fall of 1856, shortly after the arrival of the colonists, but it was never roofed and a storm in July, 1860, blew down the remains (Burkley, *op. cit.*). About 1860 the town began to be depopulated, those who had not gone back East gradually drifted

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[10] "St. Patrick's Colony," *American Catholic Historical Researches*, April, 1891, p. 95.

[11] *Works of Archbishop John Hughes, loc. cit.*

[12] After leaving St. John's in July, 1859, Father Trecy remained a few months in Sioux City; according to the next record we have of him he was serving as chaplain in the Civil War. After the war he labored in the Diocese of Mobile, Alabama, and died in the Alexian Hospital, St. Louis, March 4, 1889. (L. McCarty, *Historical Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of Catholicity in Sioux City*, p. 9.) Father Trecy's parents, brother, and sister went to Huntsville, Alabama, with him. His brother returned to Dakota County in 1870 and moved in 1881 to Wayne, Nebraska, where he is buried.

southward, while some of them founded the town of Jackson, which was incorporated in 1865. The old settlement had been abandoned by that time and the town site was vacated in 1866. Of the offspring of old St. John's, Bishop O'Connor wrote in 1885:

> In the northern part of Nebraska an Irish colony called Jackson has been settled for twenty-nine years, and when I was last there the Pastor told me that six of the colonists were worth from $40,000 to $90,000 each. They told me themselves that had they the money to leave, they were so discouraged by the desolate appearance of the prairie, and the loneliness and desolation which seemed to affect the Irish so much, they would have left. Fortunately they did not have the money.[13]

Immigration, however, did not stop with the abandonment of St. John's, though this was the last attempt at organized colonization until 1874. Relatives and friends of those that remained came, and Irish settlers were found scattered over the whole county, centering in St. John's township (the name has been preserved), Hubbard, and Summit townships. From old county records it is evident that these colonists have taken an active part in the civic and economic life of the county.

II

General John O'Neill, founder of the second Irish Catholic colony in Nebraska, was a Celt of the Celts. Born in Ireland in 1834, he came to the United States as a youth. At the age of twenty-three he entered the army in 1857 in the regiment of which Albert S. Johnson was Colonel and Robert E. Lee, Lieutenant-Colonel. Wounded at the time of the Civil War, during which he had been promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant for bravery, he was forced to retire from the army in 1864. The Fenians conceived the plan of making use of the large number of Irish soldiers who had served in the Civil War in a new attempt to free Ireland. Armies raised in the United States were to capture Canada and then proceed to Ireland for the final struggle. Always a staunch Fenian, and having the added qualification of military training in the regular army, John O'Neill was chosen to take command and given the title General. Three attempts, in 1866, in 1870, and again 1871, ended, as was to be

[13] "Bishop O'Connor on Irish Immigration, an Interesting Interview," New York *Freeman's Journal*, July 18, 1885.

expected, in dismal failure in spite of the whole-hearted devotion of General O'Neill and his handful of followers.[14]

Even this did not dampen the ardor of the General. He conceived the idea of establishing a Fenian settlement out on the prairies: "I do not intend to forget the cause of Ireland but I desire to be in a better position to serve it when the opportunity presents. . . . The prairies are wide and there is plenty of room for drill and instruction, and there is no law against shooting deer and antelope in season, which will be good practice until we can find better game."[15] Quixotic or something harsher we may dub this scheme; but we must certainly admire the burning love of nationality that would sacrifice all for the freedom of its homeland. The plan was inspired by the government's offer of one hundred and sixty acres of land to Civil War veterans; as most of those associated with the Fenian movement had served in the Civil War, organizing a colony would utilize this generous offer for the benefit of the settlers themselves and for Ireland.

In 1872 and 1873 General O'Neill traveled through the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska, seeking a suitable site for a colony. In Lincoln, Nebraska, he met Patrick Fahy, a land agent, who was interested in a town site in Holt County. Finances being always an obstacle, when Mr. Fahy offered General O'Neill $150 a month for four months to defray the expense of organizing a colony, besides assuring him that the site was ideal, the proposal was accepted. Accompanied by Mr. Fahy, General O'Neill visited the territory and was satisfied that the location fulfilled the reputation it had been given. The early settlers relate that the first sight of the proposed settlement was prepossessing; tall prairie grass gave the impression that the soil was fertile and that other crops would be assured. Mr. Fahy had also promised that a town would be surveyed and platted, ready for the incoming colony.

The terms of the agreement were not fulfilled and were it not for Patrick Ford who allowed the use of his journal, the *Irish World,* the venture would have ended for lack of funds.[16]

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[14] Bryce, *Short History of the Canadian People,* pp. 468-470; *Encyclopedia Americana,* XI, 116; A. T. Andreas, *History of Nebraska,* p. 985.

[15] "General O'Neill's Personal Account of the Founding of O'Neill." Reproduced in the semi-centennial editions of *The Frontier,* (O'Neill, Neb.), June 26, 1924, *et seq.* Files in the Library of the Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

[16] General O'Neill writes that the money was paid later.

In spite of the further handicap of the opposition of laymen (selfish politicians, General O'Neill says) and of many clergy, the work of gathering a colony progressed and on the 12th of May, 1874, the first group reached O'Neill City.

Nothing had been done to prepare for the colony. Holt County was practically unsettled at the time and there were only a few trappers in the east and a homesteader here and there. When this earliest group saw the vast, unbroken, and desolate prairie, they lost heart completely and all who had the means went back, many of them stopping at the settlements in the eastern part of the State. The first thought of those who were left was to provide a shelter. Locating the nearest river on a map, a probable source of timber, a group of the men started out marking the route by stakes driven into the ground. On May 19th a sod house 36x18 was completed and in this "Grand Central Hotel," as the colonists good-humoredly called the structure, lived thirteen men, two women, and thirteen children. Another small group of colonists arrived in November of that year, 1874.

Ignorant as most of these people were of farming, they had a harrowing time of it. They were one hundred miles from any civilized community, fifty miles from a post-office, and one hundred and three miles from the nearest railroad at Wisner. The year 1874 was the worst of the grasshopper years in Nebraska. An old pioneer of a settled section says: "The Lord only knows which harmed the settlers more, the prowling Red-skins who were wont to sally forth from the hills and uplands, or the green imps of Satan, the grasshoppers, which bounced upon us in bewildering hordes—both literally took the bread out of our mouths. Those were indeed times to try men's souls." If that was true of old-timers in the State what must have been the effect on the newly arrived O'Neill colonists. In the whole history of the colony there is no instance of an attack by the Indians but this fear was always present because of the nearness of an Indian reservation in South Dakota. At one time, when Sitting Bull threatened an invasion into the State, danger seemed imminent and there were anxious days in the colony. At least they were spared this terrifying experience.

General O'Neill brought in his second colony in the spring of 1875. There was as yet no sign of a town. Promises had not been fulfilled, dissatisfaction was rampant, and General

O'Neill who had been trusted by his countrymen was held responsible. With Patrick Haggerty the General then located a soldier's additional eighty acres adjoining O'Neill City and offered lots in this addition to all those who had bought land of him in the original town site. In October of that year Mr. Fahy built the first frame building which was rented by Patrick Haggerty for a general merchandise store. From this time things began to improve, so much so that General O'Neill could say: "In spite of difficulties I am well pleased with results." His optimism still persisted.[17]

That was the period of the gold rush to the Black Hills. O'Neill City was the last town on the route into the hills and the last chance for prospectors to get supplies. For the time being the clouds had a golden lining for the colonists. Patrick Haggerty's store employed ten to twenty clerks. At times he took in $1000 a day.[18] General O'Neill advised his people to raise produce to sell to the miners since he believed they would make more gold than those who dug for it in the hills. This era of prosperity was of short duration; it soon lapsed into the steady routine of hard work and small gains.

Previous to the coming of the second colony, General O'Neill located a town site west of O'Neill City with financial aid given by Col. John Atkinson of Detroit, Michigan, and John F. Kelley of Washington, D. C. This town was called Atkinson. The second colony, as well as those that came after, could locate either in Atkinson or O'Neill City. The third colony, consisting of one hundred and two men, women, and children, came in the spring of 1876, and in 1877 the fourth and last came adding seventy more.

General O'Neill's part in the colony now ceased. From tradition it seems that the history of the earlier colony at St. John's had been repeated. The years 1874-1877 were hard years in Nebraska generally; first the grasshoppers and then successive

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[17] There is a sketch of the life of Patrick Fahy in A. T. Andreas, *History of Nebraska*, Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1882. Patrick Fahy was still living at the time and it seems evident that the sketch was written either by Mr. Fahy himself or a near relative. The book was not the work of one author; there are no names attached to any of its sections. In this sketch the whole credit for colonizing O'Neill City is given to Mr. Fahy. "Mr. O'Neill only succeeded in bringing back fourteen families, instead of the twenty-five [he had agreed to bring], the others coming in afterwards, having heard or read of the colony."

[18] J. J. McCafferty, "Notes for a History of O'Neill," *The Frontier*, O'Neill, Neb. (Semi-Centennial editions).

droughts and severe storms caused a cycle of lean years. In O'Neill, where the soil is naturally very poor, these years were disastrous, and feeling against General O'Neill became acute. Still undaunted, however, he turned his attention to Greeley County where he hoped to locate another colony. His hope was not fulfilled; he died in St. Joseph's Hospital, Omaha, Nebraska, January 8, 1878.[19]

During this time there was no resident priest in O'Neill. Father Bedard, a French-Canadian, combination priest, doctor, farmer, and pedagog, who was stationed with a French colony in Antelope County, visited the colony. Bishop O'Connor appointed Rev. J. F. Smith the first pastor in 1878.

M. AQUINATA MARTIN

N. Cambridge, Mass.

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[19] Inscription on General O'Neill's tomb in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery, Omaha:

> General John O'Neill, hero of Ridgeway, born in Ireland, March 3, 1834. Died at Omaha January 8, 1878. By nature a brave man, by principles a soldier of liberty. He fought with distinction for his adopted country and was even ready to draw his sword for his native land. To perpetuate his memory this monument was erected by the Irish Nationalists. God save Ireland.

Feeling against General O'Neill still persists among the O'Neill colonists and their children. In 1924 a movement was inaugurated to have the General's body taken back to O'Neill as part of the semi-centennial celebration; the project met with bitter opposition and the remains still lie in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.

NORA BREWER CUDAHY, CATHOLIC LEADER

In September, 1932, in the city of Chicago, the officers of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society passed resolutions of condolence mourning the passing of a valued trustee. About the same time the Travelers Aid Society at a director's meeting passed resolutions of sympathy on the death of their vice-president. The Cenacle Guild at its meeting mourned the death of their long-time president and leader, and conjectured where they would find a successor. The Auxiliary of St. Vincent's Asylum met and their special business was to pass resolutions on the death of their devoted chairman, who for long years had been the staunch friend of the sisters and of the infants in their charge. Similar meetings were occasioned in other places by the death of Nora Brewer Cudahy, who on July 10, 1932, had peacefully passed to her reward, a reward which everyone felt would be exceeding great.

* * * * *

Hastening away, one evening, from the lonely Hawaiian ranch at Makawao to the seaport of Wailuku, Maui, a young woman with a very sick infant embarked on an inter-island steamer for Honolulu. Arriving next morning, she went to the doctor, who at once realized the seriousness of the baby's condition. On further diagnosis he found the child was starving, having been insidiously drugged by a young Portuguese girl—the only available person on the ranch to help in the family. As the doctor gave small hopes of recovery, the young mother hurried to the Carmelite Monastery, rang the bell and asked the friar at the portal to baptize her infant. He ushered her in, made the necessary preparations and turned to the mother, requesting the baby's name. She replied: "The name does not matter; baptize her, she is dying." Hesitating but a moment, as he looked down upon the emaciated child, the priest asked permission to give her his name. Thus it was that Leonore Brewer, born on March 19, 1887, was christened a month later by Father Leonore, a much beloved missionary in the Hawaiian Islands.

The incident, so out of the ordinary, seems to have borne fruits of significance later on—and who knows but that the blessings of this holy man may not have followed Nora, as her

friends loved to call her, and found their fulfillment in her life, which was richly endowed in spiritual forces?

Honolulu, in its early days, was a small community of families living in intimate contact, who were ever conscious of the movements of their neighbors and especially of their friends from the other islands. In such an atmosphere as this it was not long before Mrs. Brewer was befriended by her neighbor, Mrs. Alfred Judd, who had heard of the distressing errand to Honolulu. She called and made sympathetic offers of assistance. Having a baby boy, just Nora's age, "Aunt Agnes" felt that she could nurse both babies, and so it was that Nora had a new start in babyhood; and to this kindly neighborly act Nora owed her life. In a few months the mother and child returned to the ranch at Maui; and it was with an enduring love and interest in Nora that "Aunt Agnes" always alluded to her as her "foster daughter." Four happy childhood years followed at Makawao where, with her brother Frank and her sister Amy, she grew strong and thrived under the care of her nurse, Sarbro, a Japanese boy. There were no playmates here other than her immediate family, and the only exception to the monotony of the ranch life were occasional visits from Honolulu friends to her parents. Father Leonore always stopped with them on his missionary trips, and Mr. Brewer, though not a Catholic, built him a chapel, where the priest could say Mass and teach the Kanakas.

The time came when Nora's father realized the difficulties of rearing his family on an isolated island and then came the move to San Mateo, California. In this small village, about twenty miles from San Francisco, he had a dairy ranch. A happy and wholesome home life with attendance at a private school for girls and boys in the neighborhood filled the next few years. There was a minimum amount of learning; lessons and music practice were unpleasant, and every kind of outdoor sports attracted Nora more. "Home work" was quickly put aside in the evenings, for an hour's reading and story telling by her mother. Letters written at this time to her aunt in Milton, Massachusetts, are replete with references to games and sport, and in one instance, Nora is jubilant because "Amy and I now play tackles on the boys' team!" Almost daily she rode with her father, and occasionally he would inaugurate a paper chase on horseback, with the "gang," a score of children, chasing him

across country. Each summer there was a camping trip, and here the happiest three weeks of each year were spent.

When Nora was thirteen years old her mother died, and this sorrow made a sad void in the family life, for Mrs. Brewer had combined the qualities of a buoyant and vital nature with a genuine tenderness of heart. Born in Dublin, Mary McCoppin had come with her Irish parents to this country as a babe and was educated in a convent. In her early teens she went to live with her oldest brother in San Francisco. Endowed with an ingratiating personality, she won others to her, who unconsciously absorbed her generosity of spirit. She interpreted life with sincerity of purpose and the joy of living. Her interest in people and the necessity of being happy and sharing happiness were the dominating attributes of this devoted mother, who was at the same time a joyous playmate and beloved friend.

The next three years were as happy as possible without the presence of a mother. But a discordant note prevailed. It was utterly impossible for anyone to take the mother's place and housekeepers, efficient and with the best intent, were repelled, as no one was permitted beyond the barriers thrown up by a child's interpretation of a mother's memory. These were difficult years for Mr. Brewer; however, he kept the family together. Lessons and music continued to be uninteresting, and of course, the "don'ts" were emphasized. Yet in the background was a great outdoors, and Mr. Brewer's love of sports. He was a daily companion of his daughters in tennis, golf and, best of all, riding.

Nora's instructions in catechism were in the same category as lessons, and with the same results—indifference. Little of religious training remained a year after her mother's death; prayers and Sunday Mass became subjects of weekly debates, and the enforcement of the law became so arduous that Mr. Brewer one Sunday capitulated, "Though it was your mother's wish, I shall not force you to go to Mass." There was one less argument in the family, and religion was in the discard for many years.

In time Nora and her sister left home for a finishing school in Connecticut, which that year migrated to Briarcliff, New York. On the way to school Eastern traditions were introduced into their lives at Milton, Massachusetts, where they enjoyed meeting for the first time their Brewer relations.

The first months of boarding school were difficult for the sisters. Little was gained but a few friendships, and a conviction that a "finishing school" was all the name implied. This unfruitful experience of two years was partly due to a provincial western viewpoint in conflict with eastern conventionalities that were never adjusted. As an antidote to this came a delightful four months' travel in Europe with a beloved aunt and bachelor uncle.

Nora was matured by her European trip, and for the first time she realized the sacrifices her father had made for her. She was again in California where she made many friends, loved the dances and frivolities of society, and was a popular debutante. In the midst of her youthful dreams, her father died suddenly, and as a result the family mode of living was greatly reduced, and Nora, at eighteen, became master of her own ship.

After the California earthquake in 1906, Nora determined to go East and took with her a long neglected prayer-book which her mother had given her, and for the first time was she separated from her sister Amy. While in the East, she read and thought her way back to her mother's faith, and definitely became a Catholic again. In her letters to her sister, however, she made no mention of this fact, because on the eve of her departure she had had a controversy with her sister regarding the prayer-book. On her return to San Francisco at Christmas time, she was surprised and thrilled to find that her sister, too, had returned to the fold, and on Christmas morning together they gratefully made their second "First Communion." From this time on, Nora Brewer became a staunch Catholic, not content merely to possess "the pearl of great price," but with a zeal to have others share it.

About this time she met, at her new home in San Mateo, the son of a well-known Catholic family of Chicago, Edward Ignatius Cudahy. Friendship developed into affection, and they were married at San Mateo on April 23, 1911, by Monsignor Ramm. This union, which lasted twenty-two years, was a most happy one and was blessed with four children.

Mrs. Cudahy's character developed with her interest in social work, and at her death, she was the acknowledged Catholic leader in the Chicago area. She had intelligence and courage; she was cheerful and her love of people and the outdoors made her the admiration of all and especially of her husband and

children, who at the time of her death were: William Brewer, twenty, and Michael, eighteen, who were at college; Robert Edward, eleven, and Leonore, eight, who were at home.

It was a commonplace for people to speak of the Cudahy home as an ideal Christian one, and in hundreds of tributes received after her death, her home was singled out by many. "I have never met anyone who was so capable and sweet in her own home, and so generous in giving so much of her time and strength to so many things in the outside world." Another said, "Never was there such an ideal mother for boys or their friends. I have always longed to have Nora's knack and real spirit of comradeship with her own boys and her boys' friends." Mrs. Cudahy frequently entertained both in her Chicago and her summer home at Marion, Massachusetts. In 1917 she entertained Cardinal Mercier and was Vice-Chairman of the Allied Bazaar for the Cardinal's Fund. During the Eucharistic Congress, she opened her home to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, while she retired with her family to Marion. Of this period another friend wrote, "I see Nora as the gracious and charming hostess, as the wise and humorous center of a turbulent household and as a loyal and understanding friend whom I shall cherish in memory as long as I live."

Children who were entertained in her home turned to Mrs. Cudahy with great confidence, for besides finding her almost a companion, they instinctively felt her understanding and sympathy. Thus a friend wrote: "She was one of those exceptional women who know how to win the confidence of young people. I regard it as one of the greatest privileges of my life to have known so rare a spirit as your wife. Such people never can die, for their influence surmounts the grave." Another friend wrote, "There was no one who had so much use for life, or gave out such unmitigated joy as she did to all ages."

Nora Cudahy seemed to have time for everything because she was intelligent and believed in method. This showed itself in the organization of her own family and the fact that she had time for almost every good cause. She was interested in her own mental development, was a constant reader of serious books, and was seen at lectures, exhibits, at the theatre and the opera, and very often with her children. She promoted lectures on social work; and, although without technical training, she had the point of view of a trained worker. Like everything else,

her Christianity was practical. She believed in deeds and was literally rich in works of mercy. For years she was active in St. Vincent's Asylum and for a long time the president of its Crib Society. She was interested in Madonna Center, the outstanding Catholic settlement house of Chicago, and in the Christ Child Society, of which she was treasurer at the time of her death.

Mrs. Cudahy had modern ideas of charity and preferred prevention to rehabilitation, and especially to mere relief. It was natural, therefore, that she should be interested in character-building societies and health programs. It was natural that she should be an officer of the Travelers Aid Society, and of the Ridge Farm Preventorium. Her intelligent interest in social problems led to her selection as a Board Director of The National Conference of Catholic Women, and as one of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies. Her last service was in 1932 when the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission was organized and when Mrs. Cudahy was elected Vice-Chairman of the Service Bureau for Women, a responsibility which she cheerfully carried until death brought it to a close. In civic affairs Mrs. Cudahy was much concerned because she realized that the underprivileged could often be served better by the ballot than by bread, better by legislation than by personal service. Consequently, she served on committees which had in mind public and social reforms. Shortly before her death she was appointed a trustee of the Woman's Board of the forthcoming Century of Progress Fair.

Religious ideals made the strongest appeal to Nora Cudahy and with them she sanctified her social and civic work, just as they sweetened the tasks of wife and mother. Her religious duties were to her a joy rather than an obligation, and as a consequence a religious atmosphere permeated her household from parlor to pantry. Annually she made a spiritual retreat for several days, and on occasion spent a day of recollection after the manner of religious. She was a frequent communicant and during Lent received the Holy Eucharist daily.

Of all her religious activities, her favorite one was The Cenacle retreats for lay women, and for many years she was president of The Cenacle Guild. No one mourned her passing more than the religious of The Cenacle. "What memories," they said, "she leaves in all our hearts, where she has unconsciously

enshrined herself! Here at The Cenacle we know we have lost a veritable fairy god-mother."

Nora Cudahy had to struggle for her Catholic faith, and she prized it above everything else. She had hosts of non-Catholic friends who admired alike her understanding spirit and her uncompromising Catholicism. She read with zeal books of doctrine and controversy so as to give a reason for her faith to others. She was interested in all things Catholic, especially in the history of the Church, and for several years was a trustee of The Illinois Catholic Historical Society.

Throughout her life Mrs. Cudahy had buoyant health, but early in 1932 she complained of continual weariness, nevertheless she kept up her heavy routine of tasks, until in May her physician forced her to bed. Courage was a characteristic of Nora Cudahy and although she suffered much she never complained. Fortified by the Holy Viaticum, she died on July 10, 1932. A requiem Mass was sung at the Cathedral by Father Edward Mullaly, a life-long friend, but there was no sermon. Her body was laid to rest in the family vault at Calvary.

The Church, the community, and her friends have, in the death of Mrs. Cudahy, lost an outstanding personality, but her example will ever be an influence for everything that was wholesome and beautiful. For her family, her husband and children, her loss is irreparable. At the time of her death, her husband said to a condoling friend, "Yes, an unspeakable loss, but it was a privilege to have lived with such a woman."

Friends wrote tributes such as these: "God has been good in giving you such a wife, and your children such a mother." "Her going has left a vacancy that can never be filled, and I feel that a friendship that brought me nothing but joy has ended." "The life and the heart and the soul of Mrs. Cudahy was charity. Let us enshrine her memory in our acts of kindliness toward others." "To the Catholics of Chicago whose gracious representative she has been, has come an unspeakable loss."

Nora Cudahy is no more, but she is not dead for her memory and deeds life after her and make her an abiding presence among us. She will be remembered as an exemplary mother, wife and friend, and as a courageous crusader of good causes, a Catholic Leader.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG

University of Detroit

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF JOHN GRASSI, S. J. TO SIMON BRUTÉ DE RÉMUR, 1812-1832

The following letters written by Father John Grassi, S. J., to Father Simon Bruté de Rémur, afterwards first Bishop of Vincennes, were found in the Canon Bruté de Rémur Collection, Rennes, Frances, by Sister Mary Salesia Godecker, O. S. B., while in prosecution of researches preparatory to writing her life of Bishop Bruté. Sister Salesia did not find occasion to incorporate them in her work. The letters are here presented in the hope that they may afford some further insight into the activities of two distinguished figures in the career of the Church in the United States in the early decades of our national history. Their texts as here printed follow typewritten copies made by Sister Salesia.

Father John Anthony Grassi, S. J., arrived in the United States in 1810 after having left St. Petersburg five years earlier with the intention of reestablishing the work of the Society of Jesus in China. He was made superior of the Maryland Mission in the following year and president of Georgetown College in 1812. He was one of the ablest of the Jesuits living in the United States in the early nineteenth century and did much to establish Georgetown on a firm footing. Simon Gabriel Bruté was born at Rennes, France, in 1779. He was ordained in 1808, and sailed to the United States in 1810. For some years he taught in the institutions of the Sulpicians in this country and in 1834 was appointed Bishop of Vincennes. Bishop Bruté was one of the most learned of the brilliant group of European ecclesiastics who came to the United States in the early years of the nineteenth century. Cf. Sister Salesia Godecker, O. S. B., *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes,* St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931; also, MID-AMERICA, January, 1933.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, M. A.

St. Louis University

I

P. X. Georgetown, October 27, 1812

Reverend and dear Sir,

Mrs. Patton, wife of Mr. James Patton, the English Consul of Alexandria, wishes to send her daughter Mary, aged about 12 or 13 years, to

the Religious house not distant from your College for her education.[1] She applied to me in order that I might procure to her proper information of the terms on which pupils are received at the above mentioned institution, and I take the liberty to direct myself to your reverence, who, as R. F. Malève informs me, at present lives at Emmitsburg.[2] The zeal with which I know very well you embrace every occasion of doing good makes me confident, that you will be so kind as to write to me a few lines in answer as soon as it is possible.

I avail myself of the present opportuntiy to give your Reverence my best thanks for the handsome pictures you favored me [with] last summer, which were the more acceptable and precious on account of being accompanied by a few lines from your hand.

The expectation of an occasion of sending to you my letter by a private hand and afterwards a long illness of a bilious fever are the motives of my involuntary delay to answer your kind letter, for which however I hope you will excuse me. I am not yet perfectly recovered, but I feel better every day. R. F. Cary also has suffered several attacks of the same complaint, but in his letter last week he tells me that now he is very well.

I beg leave to beg your Reverence a particular favour, which circumstances prevented me to ask you before this time. The favour is that you may pay one day or another, when it will be more convenient for you, a visit to a friend and servant of yours at Georgetown, and if you choose also to F. Cary at St. Thomas' Manor.[3]

I regretted always very much that till now it was not in my power to do it; but now circumstances being a little changed I dare to pray you for such favor for which I will esteem myself very much honored. The proximity of the Federal City [Washington], of the Navy Yard, of the Capitol, where you can be present at the Senate and Congress in sessions, and gratify the natural curiosity of hearing the eloquence of American Orators ought to be additional reasons to determine your Reverence to comply with my humble petition. I think that your occupations are not such as not to give you leisure for such an excursion; were your occupations continual you must interrupt them for some relaxation which a journey to Georgetown would afford you. Rev. Fr. Malève will be very glad to see you at Frederick; from this place the stage goes to Georgetown three times a week.[4] You will be so good as to present my best

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[1] Inquiry made at St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, shows that the name of Mary Ann Patton was registered for the period, August 12, 1813, to August 12, 1814.

[2] Father Francis Malevé, S. J., was one of the European Jesuits sent by the Father-General Thaddeus Brzozowski to aid the recently restored Society in the United States. Cf. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, New York, 1922, p. 553 and note; also Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Documents, I, part 11, p. 871. Malevé appears to be the correct form.

[3] St. Thomas' Manor. One of the old Jesuit properties and missions in Charles County, Maryland.

[4] Frederick. Jesuit mission in Maryland, long the location of the novitiate of the Maryland-New York province until its removal to Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1903.

respects to all the Gentlemen of the College and pray for me in your holy Sacrifices, and to believe that I am,

Your most humble and affectionate servant and friend,
John Grassi, S. J.

II

P. X. Georgetown, November 17, 1812

Reverend and dear Sir,

I am very sorry for having made no mention in my letter that though Mr. James Patton is not a Catholic, yet his wife and all the family are good Catholics. You then will be so kind as to specify to me everything concerning the education given at St. Joseph's, or if it is too troublesome for you, let it be done by one of the Ladies.[5]

I must observe to you that Mrs. Patton is mother of five other girls, who in all probability will be sent in proper time for their education at St. Joseph. If her daughter Mary can now be admitted, Mrs. Patton herself intends to come to Emmitsburg with her. As Mrs. Patton desires very much to lose no time, it would be agreeable to her to be informed if she could come immediately in case she finds the terms convenient to her situation. I expect with anxiety some answer on this subject. Nothing could be more agreeable to me than your promise of coming to see us. The presence of F. Ladavière lately from France, and your old acquaintance at Paris is a new motive I propose to you for complying with my desire.[6] I proposed to him to write to your Reverence a few lines which you will find on the next page. I recommend myself and all the Society to your holy Sacrifices, particularly our Brethren in Russia, whose Colleges, one excepted, at Petersburg are in possession of the Modern Vandals. I am,

Your most obedient servant in Jesus Christ,
John Grassi, S. J.

III

P. X. Georgetown, Dist. of Columbia
May 3, 1813.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I have been favoured by a Gentleman of Louvain in the Low Countries with some articles of devotion. It seems to me that it would retard the glory of God if I would delay in distributing them among my friends in this country.

As you permit me to consider you as one of them I send you a few of the said articles. Your religiousness assures me that they will be agreeable to you, and your kindness towards me makes me hope that you will consider them as a token of my sincere attachment and respect for you.

I hope you are well. I have frequent visits of an inveterate fever. I

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[5] St. Joseph's Academy established by Mother Elizabeth Seton at Emmitsburg in 1809; now St. Joseph's College and Academy.

[6] Father Pierre Ladavière, S. J. (1777-1858), became a Jesuit in the Lyons Province in 1814.

am told that I must change air in order to recover; but my actual engagement does not permit me any absence from the College. I intend, however, as soon as I can to pay a visit to Father Malève at Fredricktown. This would enable me to enjoy the pleasure of seeing you, since I would indeed make a short excursion to Emmitsburg for I am told that it is not very far from Fredericktown.

The Reverend Mr. Ladavière goes already on the Missions of Alexandria, in Virginia; but his health is very poor. Father Cary[7] is pretty well, he has received a letter, dated Feb. 5, 1813, from his sister Me. Lambert, written from Paris in which there are the following remarkable words: L'Empereur est bien avec notre St. Pere le Pape. Les Cardinaux qui étoient Prisoniers a Vincennes, ont eu leur liberté, etc. Je suppose vous savez déjà tout cela.

Next week the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore is expected in the City, and at Georgetown. I hope you will not forget your promise of paying a visit to your friends at Georgetown. My best compliments to RR. MM. Duhamel and Dubois[8] and believe that I am,

Your most humble Servant,
John Grassi, S. J.

IV

P. X. Georgetown. November 24, 1813.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I avail myself of the opportunity of Rev. Mr. Miquel going to pay a short visit to Rev. F. Beschter to send to your reverence these few lines in answer to your kind last letter.[9] Before the arrival of it an advertisement sent from New York had been put in the newspapers for the publication of the Catholic Question in America with a perhaps too short ac-

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[7] Father John Baptist Cary (1772-1843), a Frenchman, became a Jesuit in Maryland in 1810.

[8] The Rev. Charles Duhamel left France in 1784 to labor in French Guiana, but his health failing there he came to the United States. He was made pastor of Hagerstown, Maryland, and later of Emmitsburg. Father Duhamel was a good friend to Mother Seton and her little community when they first went to Emmitsburg. The first house occupied by the community at Emmitsburg was known as "Father Duhamel's house." Father Duhamel died in February, 1818. Cf. Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters*, New York, 1917, I, 22, 49, 96.

Father John Dubois came to the United States after the outbreak of the French Revolution and served as pastor of Norfolk, Richmond and Frederick. In 1808 he entered the Society of Saint Sulpice and shortly after opened at Emmitsburg a *petit séminaire*, which later developed into Mount Saint Mary's College. He greatly assisted Mother Seton in establishing her community at Emmitsburg. He was consecrated bishop of New York, October 29, 1826, and died December 20, 1842. Cf. M. Meline and E. F. X. McSweeney, *The Story of the Mountain*, 2 vols., Emmitsburg, 1911.

[9] Father John Beschter, S. J. (1763-1842), a native of Belgium, for a time Master of Novices at Georgetown; later stationed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.*, 557. Father Miguel labored for a time at Richmond to which he was assigned by Bishop Carroll in 1811.

count of its subject, and its success.[10] This book has excited the curiosity and interest even of every sectarian; it would have still more sale were its price list [*sic*] and the appendix not so long. A new edition of the Pious Guide has already been announced to the public by Mr. Dorin. I am still very little acquainted with this book. I know it however enough to agree with you that several changes ought to be made. You would oblige me if you would be so kind as to write and to point out the improvements you think necessary. I will communicate them with Father [Francis] Neale and endeavor to have an improved edition of this book which notwithstanding its imperfections has produced a great deal of good and is very much demanded.[11]

Rev. Mr. Neale is now absent, but next week I hope he will be home. I intend to propose to him to have at the beginning of the work a short explanation of the principal things used in the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, as holy water, lamps, candles, incense, various colors or ornaments, the ceremonies more remarkable of Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, funerals, etc. I hope you will do me justice and not take in any unfavorable sense what I take the liberty to propose to your Reverence about the above mentioned book, my only view being of rendering it better adapted to A. M. D. G., and nothing else.

Rev. Mr. Ladavière has received at New York your kind letter; this Rev. Gentleman came from that city last week to pay us a short visit, he left town again yesterday to return to New York in hope that he will in a short time have an opportunity of sailing for France. He told me that ours at New York will endeavor to arrange things so as to have a monthly or at least a quarterly Catholic publication in form of a Journal or Magazine.[12] They have not written anything to me about it; as soon as I shall be informed of their plan, I will give you notice in order that you may help them, and they may help you for this work which I am confident will produce a great deal of good in this country. Ours at Stonyhurst suffer very much both from the Protestants and from the envy of others as they have 230 boarders. In the last discussion of the Catholic bill, several invectives were directed against that Establishment; and Mr. Hyxsaly went so far to threaten that next session he would make a motion that a Committee should be appointed to visit the house of

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[10] *The Catholic Question in America.* This work was the result of the celebrated "Confessional Case" in New York in which Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J., vindicated the inviolability of information obtained in confession. As a result of the controversy the exemption of clergymen from being called upon to testify in court regarding what they have learned while in the exercise of their ministerial duties was enacted into New York law, December 10, 1828. To a report of the case when published Father Kohlmann added an exposition of the teachings of the Church on the sacrament of penance. Sampson, *The Catholic Question in America,* appendix, New York, 1813. The work led to a long continued controversy with certain Protestant ministers. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.,* 556; Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana,* pp. 232-234; United States Catholic Historical Society, *Records and Studies,* New York, I, 1899.

[11] Father Francis Neale, S. J. (1756-1837), brother of Father Charles Neale, S. J., and Bishop Leonard Neale.

[12] The plan never materialized.

Stonyhurst.[13] As that College has the true inheritance (as well as we have here) of our Holy Father, I hope in [the] divine mercy, that it shall have also the protection of the Almighty. Pray for us my dear Sir, let us assist one another reciprocally by the means of prayer and good union, to promote the greater glory of God. I am in the Sacred Heart,

Your most affectionate Servant and Brother in Xto.,
John Grassi, S. J.

V

P. X. Georgetown, February 21, 1814.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I avail myself of the opportunity of R. F. Edward Fenwick coming to Emmitsburg to send your reverence these few lines to thank you for your favoured December 27.[14] I thank you in particular for the observations you have communicated to me on the new intended edition of the Pious Guide, though I must say that both your, mine and others' observations I think will be useless for F. Francis Neale has been so much taken up by other affairs, which compelled him to be absent, that he had no time to make a new arrangement of the prayers of this book; and now the printer having everything ready will have objections to delay the publication of the work, as there is a very great demand every day. Mr. Dorin has already advertised it in the Ordo of the present year, but if he does not begin immediately then Mr. Milligan of Georgetown will proceed without delay, and perhaps he has begun to print it this very day, as he gave to understand to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Neale.

I received the volume of Fenelon's works, which was forwarded to me by Rev. F. Beschter. I do not know it. Rev. Mr. Ladavière has left America for France. As Rev. Mr. Fenwick is ready to start I must end. Pray for me that I may not be useless in the service of God, but that He may grant me assistance to bear with patience all troubles and labours, and to labour much for A. M. D. G.

Your most affectionate friend in Xto.,
John Grassi, S. J.

VI

P. X. Georgetown. March 29, 1814.

Reverend and dear Mr. Bruté,

I have been favoured by Mr. Vespre with a paragraph of a letter dated Bordeaux, January 29, 1814, written to the said amiable gentleman

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[13] Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, Lancashire, England. Foundation established at St. Omer in Artois in 1592, by Father Robert Parsons, S. J. Later moved to Stonyhurst Hall, the gift of Thomas Weld. Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 309-310; also, Gruggen and Keating, *History of Stonyhurst*, London, 1901.

[14] Father Edward Fenwick, O. P., born August 19, 1768, in Maryland; founder of the Dominican Order in the United States. Later first Bishop of Cincinnati, 1822-1832. Cf. John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, New York and Cincinnati, 1921; also, Victor F. O'Daniel, O. P., *The Life of the Rt. Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O. P., D. D.*, Washington, D. C., 1920.

by a friend with the glorious news that our Holy Father, Pius VII is at liberty and that he had set off for Rome.[15] Oh Church of Christ! Oh Apostolical See! Oh Rock of Peter! Oh Pius VII! Of what wonderful events have we not been eye witnesses. If after such marks of Divine Providence we have not a very lively faith, a firm confidence in God's protection, we must have lost all feelings. I expect with the greatest anxiety the confirmation and the details of such an event the most consoling for every Catholic heart.

I hope you enjoy good health notwithstanding your continual labours. One of our Masters, Mr. Bowling, has been spitting blood for a considerable time as to excite serious apprehensions of his being in consumption. The good directions however given to him by Doctors Chartard and Brown of Baltimore have very good effect, and he is improving very fast towards his recovery, at least for some time for the disorder is family complaint.

Mr. Henry Lee (whom I had taken only until another master I had engaged at New York should come) has been removed from this College and now he is in St. Mary's County near St. Inegoes, teacher in a private family of Mr. Smith with boarding and 50 dollars per annum. The good information I have received about Mr. Joseph Byrne, formerly your scholar, induced me to try every means to give him opportunity of cultivating his abilities and now he is here.

Reverend Mr. Ladavière is still in New York, waiting for an opportunity for France. Mr. Ringold, the father of that little boy who was in your seminary, the good friend of R. R. MM. Dubois and Duhamel, has with divine grace determined to embrace entirely the Catholic Religion; he is now preparing himself for his first Communion having already complied with all the other necessary preliminaries. Pray for him that he may be a steady and exemplary Catholic gentleman, a thing that is very much wanted in this country. Ours at New York are about to abandon that school they had begun near that city.[16] After this affair is settled, Fr. Fenwick will be able to think more seriously on the proposed Magazine publication, to which I am confident, you will contribute with your usual zeal and kindness.

My best respects to the Rev. Gentlemen at the Seminary, also to Miss Patton, who I hope is improving both in piety and learning. Pray for me I will do the same for you, and remain,

Your most obedient servant in Christ,
John Grassi, S. J.

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[15] Pope Pius VII, by order of Napoleon, was taken from Rome to Savona in July, 1809, and held there until March, 1814.

[16] The New York Literary Institute was established by Father Kohlmann, S. J., in Mulberry Street, New York, in 1808. Although the school enjoyed a good measure of prosperity and was subsequently moved to the present site of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, the Fathers were not able to staff both the New York school and Georgetown, and in 1813 the former was closed and the property taken over by the Trappists. Cf. William McGucken, S. J., *The Jesuits and Education*, Milwaukee, 1932, pp. 72-73; also Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 636-638.

VII

P. X. Georgetown. April 11, 1814.

Reverend and dear Sir,

So great is the pleasure I have of entertaining myself with your Reverence at least by letter that I avail myself of every opportunity to write to you. A French gentleman from Norfolk who called a few minutes at this College will deliver you these few lines, in which I will inform you of the issue of our Literary Institution of New York. This house with the adjacent properties is now in possession of the Reverend Father Superior of the Trappists, the Rev. Dom Augustin d'E[s]trange who arrived lately at New York.[17] He received it cum onere et honore and is already living in it with his four religious with whom he came from Europe. In the total impossibility of going on with two houses, I had always a great regret to abandon New York for fear, less it should fall into the hands of Protestants. But I can but consider as a trait of Divine Providence that at the very time we were about to abandon it, it happened that the Reverend Dom Augustin arrived, and the place was thus put into very good hands. Thus the Rev. F. Fenwick being debarrassed [*sic*] of the care of that house, he will be able to apply himself seriously to the intended publication of a Catholic Magazine. Mr. Ladavière is still in New York waiting for an opportunity of sailing for France.

I suppose at this Easter time you have a great deal of labour, a labour no less meritorious before God than agreeable to a heart who loves God.

All ours in this College present to you their best compliments. F. Cary is very well. I pray you to present my respects to R. R. Dubois and Duhamel, and not to forget me in your holy Sacrifices.

Your most obedient Servant in Christ,
John Grassi, S. J.

VIII

P. X. Georgetown, June 24, 1814

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I write to your Reverence these few lines to inform you, that in consideration of the great good which F. Miquel, by his missions can do in France A. M. D. G., a good in my and others opinion incomparably greater than that he can do in America, I consented though not without regret, that he may leave this for his native country. He intends to start next Monday for Richmond to settle there his affairs, and towards the end of next week he will be here again, and towards the end of the week after next to start for New York. He offers his services for France to all your R. R. Gentlemen, and to you in particular. But mon cher Bruté, I dare say that you ought not to send your letters, but you ought to bring them

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[17] In September, 1802, a group of Trappists, driven from their monastery in France at the outbreak of the French Revolution, arrived at Baltimore. Sometime later they were joined by another group. The monks made several attempts at an American foundation, but without lasting success. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 513-516; also Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., "The Trappists of Monks Mound," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVI (March, 1925), 70 ff.

yourself here to him, and even to this letter ne responsa feras, attamen ipse veni. Yes, ipse veni, le R. Pere Miquel, moi et tous nos Messieurs seront charmes de vous voir. Ne refusez pas cette grace a votre ami qui part pour l'autre monde; si je savais le temps que vous comptez etre ici j'engagerois aussi le Père Cary a venir au College au meme temps. Monday or Tuesday week, I will, I shall expect you. I am confident you will not disappoint me in my expectations. We are in times of extraordinary things; do you also some extraordinary favor to your good friends. My respects to all the R. R. Gentlemen of the College, and believe that I am,

Your most affectionate friend,
John Grassi, S. J.

IX

P. X. Georgetown. March 23, 1815.

Dear friend,

I perceive from your last letter that you are impatient and almost uneasy to hear what I can say to justify Fr. Kohlman's removal from New York to the office of Master of Novices. To quiet your mind first I answer that such is the determination of our Reverend Father General. I add that the late Right Reverend Bishop Concanen committed a Bévue in appointing as Vicar General *Religiosum filium obedientiae exemptum et his nomin*[?].[18] His nomination could not bind Father Kohlman. Still less Father Kohlman, filius obedientiae, could accept without the consent of his Superiors an office which would have fixed him to a place, and not left him to the free disposal of his Superiors.[19] Many of your French Bishops were really Bishops of their dioceses though they did not live in them. When I was in Portugal a Bishop had been living in Lisbon for six years without paying any visit to his See, though not very far distant.

I know these are abuses; but do you think that it would be also an abuse if Father Kohlman should continue, though absent, to be considered, if they think it proper or necessary, as General Vicar of New York until we have an answer from Rome? Observe at the end, that from Fr. Kohlman's absence no harm will result to New York. Fr. Rantzau has been sent in his place.[20]

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[18] The Right Reverend Luke Concanen, O. P., a native of Ireland, had for several years previous to his appointment to the See of New York occupied important positions in Rome, both in his own order and as ecclesiastical agent for foreign bishops. He was consecrated Bishop of New York April 24, 1808, but owing to the European wars never reached his see, dying June 19, 1810, at Naples. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 633, 583, 639-641; also Reginald Hughes, O. P., *Bishop Concanen*, Freiburg. Father Grassi's contention is that Bishop Concanen made a mistake in appointing Father Kohlmann, a religious exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, his Vicar-General without having taken the matter up with the Jesuit superiors.

[19] Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J. (1771-1836), a native of Alsace, entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in 1803. After his arrival in the United States he was assigned by Bishop Carroll to New York, where he served as administrator of the diocese until the arrival of Bishop Connolly in 1815. He died at Rome, April 11, 1836. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

[20] Father Maximilian Rantzau, S. J., was one of the five priests in the diocese of New York at the time of the arrival of Bishop Connolly.

At length the Reverend Mr. Du Barth wrote me that the rumor is spread in Philadelphia that the Rev. Mr. Connolly, an Irish Dominican, great friend of Mr. Harold, has been appointed Bishop of New York and that his arrival is daily expected.[21] To tell you everything as you are my friend, I will observe that *Vicariatus Generalis*[est] *Praelatio juxta Suarez Castropolao De Lugo* ["the vicar-generalship is a prelacy according to Suarez, Castropalao, De Lugo"]. Even according to the declaration of *Urbani VIII, 25 Jan. 1632 Solus R. Pontifex ejus acceptationem nostris professis potest imperare* ["only the Roman Pontiff can impose its acceptance on our professed"]. Father Kohlman is professus Soci. Jesu. The paper I enclose is a copy of a Papal rescriptum, the content of which will please you who are a friend of the Society, for you will find in it a proof, or at least clearly indicated, *(vivae vocis oraculo expressum beneplacitum)* of our being Jesuits out of Russia and the two Sicilies. As you are fond of authentic pieces you will like to have it, though after all the great Bull is for no other purpose than to justify our past conduct.[22] De caetero I forgive and forget with all my heart all those who refused to pay any attention to our Father General's assertion. Mr. McElroy will be in Baltimore, Monday next, but then you will be in Pennsylvania, and this is the reason for which I send this by post. Show this rescriptum to Mr. Vespre. I reflected that my letter to Fr. Clorivière was of no consequence and therefore I did not send it.[23] I had written it only on purpose of inclosing that for our Father General, which entrusted to the care of Mr. Vespre will easier and surer go the place of its destination. I do not know as yet where Father General is; in case that you should know that he is still in Russia, please to request Mr. Vespre to direct my letter thither. If you see Father Miquel or any one of ours, as Father Cointe, an old Jesuit, whom I knew very well in London, at Fr. Shiekland's, present them my best respects. I have received no letter from the former. You or Mr. Vespre could open my letter to Mr. Beaume à Bordeaux. In that I say that 50 dollars make 250 francs, and that perhaps is not the case for I have no exact knowledge of such things. For ecclesiastical books I have written to Italy. In regard to the Machines for our Museum,

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[21] Father Louis de Barth de Walbach was a native of Alsace, and a brother of General John Barth de Walbach of the American Revolution. He was for long employed in the missions of Pennsylvania and Maryland. He was appointed Vicar-General of the diocese of Philadelphia by Bishop Egan, and served as administrator of the Diocese from the death of that prelate until the appointment of his successor. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.* p. 671. Bishop John Connolly, O. P., the second Bishop of New York, was born in Ireland in 1750. Much of his life prior to his appointment to the See of New York was spent in Rome, where he held positions of importance in the Dominican Order. Consecrated bishop at Rome, November 6, 1814; arrived in New York, November 25, 1815.

[22] The Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* by which Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus throughout the world, is dated August 7, 1814.

[23] Father Clorivière, a native of Brittany, entered Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and was ordained priest in 1812. He was assigned for a time to Charleston, but in 1818 took up his duties as director of the Visitation Convent at Georgetown, where he remained until his death, September 29, 1826. Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, 483; also Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243.

I intended to give the trouble to your Reverence, but as I am told that Mr. Vespre is going and he is better acquainted I suppose than you are with expedition, etc., and [as] besides you will be very busy at Paris, I directed Fr. Fenwick to pray him to accept this commission. Farewell my dear Bruté, my respects to Mr. Vespre your companion. May the Lord protect you both. Yes, Dominus conducat, but nota bene also, reducat.

John Grassi, S. J.

X

P. X. Georgetown, March 26, 1816.

Dear Mr. Bruté,

Receive my thanks for the communication of the painful intelligence of the quite unexpected expulsion of ours from St. Petersburg and Moscow.[24] I did not know that Jesuits were settled in the ancient capital of Russia. I am afraid that our good Alex.dr Divot[s] conversion has caused in some measure such an eclat, which the greatest part of ours will not regret much for the Society, except that the Catholic religion will suffer, and that the mind of the emperor is indisposed against us. The Prelate who builds churches for the Lutherans will not be sorry at all, he would have done it before had it been in his power. You know he is a kind of convert from Calvinism. The last year I was in Russia his Coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. Bp. [Bishop] Benislawsky, an ex-Jesuit, was obliged to quit St. Petersburg on account of his opposition to permissions for divorces etc., which the Consistorium of the Archbp. wanted to grant and did grant with no little scandal. O tempora, O mores, those who pervert and teach open irreligion, nay atheism, are permitted to make proselytes from whatever persuasion they are turned out; the Catholics alone are criminal if they tell the truth. Our condition at St. Petersburg was truly gênante: the College of Nobles took up a great number of ours and they had a very hard labour with no other spiritual fruit than the hope of seeing one day their patience and exertions contribute towards the union of the Latin and Greek Church.

But fiat voluntas Dei—I saw yesterday in a paper of New York the substance of the Ukase where no other reason is given for the expulsion of the Jesuits but because *they abused the generous toleration of the Emperor by pursuing a system of proselytism. The Nat.l Intelligencer* of this day says *for having been ungrateful and unfaithful to the Emperor by converting from the Greek Church the fundamental stone of the Russian Empire.*[25]

I am sorry the 1st. volume of the history of the Society is in White Marsh, and thus I cannot verify the point mentioned in your letter about the inquisition. As far as I can recollect the Inquisition was never in the

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[24] During the reign of Alexander I the Jesuits were expelled from Russia, the pretext being the conversion of Prince Alexander Galitzin to the Catholic faith. They were sent out of St. Petersburg during the night of December 22-23, 1815.

[25] For a correct account of the episode, cf. Campbell, *The Jesuits*, Vol. II. There was no foundation for the charge of prosyletism brought against the Society in Russia.

hands of the Jesuits, in no part of the World, somewhere it was offered and it was refused. It could be, however, that occasionally a Jesuit was a member of the said tribunal. In case that public papers should talk and make impertinent reflections on the Society I would very much approve of your idea of not being silent on our part. What you told me on the importance of a solid establishment of the Society in this Country is not present at this moment to my mind. I am fully impressed with the importance of it, though to tell you the truth, the little success in making good Christians of the American youth is really discouraging.

Mr. Henry Carroll has never put his foot in this College since I am here. I have seen him occasionally but for a few minutes. Mr Bingold lives in the city in a Mrs. Scutter's boarding house. His creditors sold his own dwelling house, now the residence of the English M. [Minister?]. Your letter will be faithfully delivered to him—his son is still at the College.

The Most Rev. Archbp. will be in Baltimore towards the end of this, or at the beginning of next week.

My best respects to Mr. Vespre and to all the R. R. Gentlemen of the Seminary and College. Pray for

Your affectionate friend in Jesus Christ,
John Grassi, S. J.

XI

P. X. This day of our Holy Father St. Ig.tius,
[July 31, 1816?]

Please to receive my best thanks for your letter conveying to me the indeed agreeable intelligence of several labourers in this half wild vineyard of Jesus Christ. My joy would have been complete indeed, if among these R. R. [Reverend] Gentlemen I had been happy to hear that there were some one for this College.

Poor F. Kohlman, he continues in a very weak condition of breast, though pretty well in other respects. I am dreadfully embarrassed, more than you can imagine.

I cannot renounce the flattering hope of some assistance from the old Continent, but if it delays, the delay could prove very detrimental.

F. DeBrosse, one of ours, and, I think, Superior du petit Seminaire à Bordeaux sent to me a very interesting relation of a wonderful event, as that of the well known Marechal de Salon. I send this relation to you thinking that you have not seen it, otherwise you would have mentioned it to me in your letter.

Dear Mr. Bruté, you will say a thousand things to these R. R. [Reverend] Gentlemen; if any of them come to see me, I will try to come and see them in Baltimore before they shall start for Louisiana. Mr. Vespre has promised to pay me a visit in the next month. Could your Reverence come also? You will not fail to send me back the relation of *Thomas Marlin*. We must pray very hard.

My best respects to all, and I remain,
John Grassi, S. J.

XII

P. X. In the octave of our Holy Father [August 7] 1816.

Dear Mr. Bruté,

I do not know what I have to write to you, but I must answer your two last letters and thank you for the interesting intelligence communicated to me in them. About religious matters I am quite destitute of news. By the R. R. Gentlemen lately from Italy I received a letter from my dear F. Mai, who saw Msgr. Du Bourg at Milan, where my good fellow novice is continuing his literary labours. Mr. Ladavière has left Bordeaux and now is in Paris. What Father Briessler writes on the Novitiate of Destelberghe is really consoling and so much the more so that we have well grounded hopes that we shall receive some assistance from that quarter. F. Grivel has left Russia for France.[26] I expect he is the man who was obliged to quit St. Petersburg for having converted Princess Galliczin.

Having some doubt if Mr. Vespre is actually in the Seminary I inclose to your Reverence a letter for him, which you can read and if you could do anything in this affair you will oblige the good Dutchman of whom I speak.

Continue to write to me, for I assure you your letters are always welcome. My best respects to all the R. R. Gentlemen, and I am,

Your affectionate friend,
John Grassi, S. J.

XIII

P. X. Georgetown, September 16, 1816.

Reverend and dear Friend,

The object of these few lines is to inform you that Mr. De Clery of Pittsburg has directed me to send to your College the bed and bedding of his son John who last year was in our house and this year intends to be a student in your College. In consequence of this I have the pleasure of informing you that if you send to the stage office a servant he will find there the articles belonging to the said Master John De Clery. This young gentleman conducted himself very well in this College and I hope he will continue to do the same with you. The Rev. Mr. Lucas is here, he intends to leave Georgetown for Richmond only next Monday evening. It seems to me that I have a thousand things to communicate to you, but I do not know how to begin. One of our Professors being absent in White Marsh to make his eight days retreat I am obliged to keep his school, which employment together with the other business keeps me pretty well occupied from morning till evening.

My best respects to your R.R. Gentlemen, and I remain in the Sacred Heart of Jesus,

Yours forever,
John Grassi, S. J.

P. S. There was an *Introduction to a Devout Life* in dutch among the books of Master De Clery; his name is not there, but there is that

[26] Father Fidele de Grivel, S. J. (1769-1842), was for some years master of novices at Whitemarsh.

of Georgetown written I do not know by whom; if this book belongs to him, let notice be given me, and the book will be sent to him.

XIV

P. X. Georgetown, September 29, 1816

Dear Friend in Jesus Christ,

Having been absent from the College for three days I could not sooner answer your letters. Crescemberi never was a Jesuit as far as I know. F. Antonio Lodi was in Lisbon and sailed for his Mission in 1806 or 7. I know him very well, he is a young Capuchin. The Rev. Mr. Lucas is intimately acquainted with Mr. Freeman of the city. The wife of this gentleman, a Methodist, complained with Mr. Lucas that I did never return a visit to Mr. Freeman after he had been at the College, though I had taken no particular notice of such a complimentary visit; yet knowing that Mr. Freeman is a Catholic, I intend to call at his house, where I will have an opportunity of knowing if this Unitarian Preacher is a brother of his Poor America!

What a painful reflection that we are so few, and many of these few half infirm, etc. According to a letter I lately received from London one of those two Jesuits mentioned in your letter is F. Grivel of Franche Comte; he was very well known by your late Ven. Mr. Nagot, for F. Grivel studied at St. Sulpice Seminary at Paris.[27] Your reflection on the good disposition of those more popular bodies towards our Society, and of the aversion of the higher class against the same order, put me in mind that as in great many other points so in this the history of our B.d Redeemer coincides with that of his persecuted Society. Common people said: Quia bonus est, but the proud Pharisees, etc., non sed seducit turbas. We have not recovered our balloon as yet, thus I cannot give you the details you wish for, but F. Ed[e]len is going to the very spot where it fell, and will take particular care of inquiring on what day, hour, etc., it fell. It was launched on St. Ignatius day after high Mass, viz., at 1:00 p. m. In your letter of the twentieth you ask me the list of Modern Jesuits, etc. When I took the liberty of adding some names to your letter I limited myself only to those who were highly distinguished for their literary productions. I could add more of this very description, and still more if we were to put together the names of those who wrote on Sacred and Ecclesiastical Subjects. I do not like much to make simple enumeration, but indeed time being so taken up in other occupations, and having lost some of my papers etc., I can but give you the names of several Jesuits whose names are illustrious in the Annals of Literature. Such is a F. Pellegrini of Verona, an excellent orator. F. Girolamo Trento of Padua, well known for his Quaresimale and still more for his Missions. F. Vanini of Milan, whose sermons are justly admired. The same I can say without hesitation of F. Massotti, F. Roberti, F. Borgo, the author of the celebrated Memoria Catolica etc. In literature were distinguished, F. Dineis in Germany, F.

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[27] Father Charles Nagot, S. S., the founder of Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Cf. Charles Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, New York, 1916.

Berlendis in Sardinia, F. Guido Ferrari at Milan. F. Zallinger at Augsburg is considered one of the best Canonists of Germany. F. Laurence Wheit's Scriptura Sacra contra incredulos propugnata obtained for its author a brief of praise from Pius VI. The same I can say of F. Mozzi and Muzzarelli, etc. F. Dragetti, Prof.r of Metaphysica at Pavia was a Jesuit. The name of the two brothers Boscovich is known enough. All great mathematicians know that of F. Ricati of Bologna, of F. Mayr a Jesuit of the English Province. Cesaris and Regis continued even after the supp[ressi].on of the Society, and are actually in the Observatory of Milan. Storkenau, Stratler, are well known for their philosophical works . . . the Provosto di Chiarinel Bressiano, is highly esteemed as Antiquarian, and for the publication of a learned work on Inscriptions, etc. F. Zacharia, the commentator of La Croix, both as divine, Antiquarian and orator. Bercastel, a Frenchman, the author of an excellent histoire Ecclesiastique. F. Diesbach, author of several works against the pretended Philosopher of the day. Feller, the writer of an excellent Journal antique and of the Dictionnaire historique, etc., etc. All these died after the suppression, or I may say flourished towards that time and continued afterwards; many I expect are still living. More could be added, if I had only time to recollect their names.

But what do you intend to do with all these names?

I am extremely anxious to see the pamphlet of the Bavarian Librarian; if it is put on the pillow of Sovereigns it will make them sleep very well, as tales of old women; this is what I think of it.

I am confident that F. Plowden will not be silent if this pamphlet is like to produce any impression disfavorable to the Society. He will stamp on the forehead of Mr. De Lany a solemn splendide mendax, and declare that it shall not be rubbed off until it is proved what there is asserted.

If something is to be published it ought to be well digested and such as to produce the desired effect.

I have heard that some of your Seminarians were to come to Georgetown to be ordained. Is it so? When do they intend to be here?

Pray for him who is

Your most affectionate friend,
John Grassi, S. J.

XV

P. X. Georgetown, December 8, 1816.

Reverend and dear friend Mr. Bruté,

You have reason to be vexed, angry and irritated against me for not having answered your several letters, not given any thanks for your kind present of the work on the Institution of the Bishops, etc., etc. I cannot justify myself but by saying that my absence from the College during the greater part of the last month is the cause that I received your letters all together, and very late, and that by the accumulated business I have been so much occupied all the time that it is by chance that I can get this leisure moment to write to my dear friend these few lines.

I will give you at the very beginning a very good piece of news. Doctor Gallagher is come to Georgetown. He has with christian docility

submitted entirely to the discretion of the Most Reverend Archbishop. Thus your Reverence sees the Charleston schism at an end and the good Doctor reconciled with the Ecclesiastical authority. This step of Dr. G. reflects indeed honour on his character. I say nothing more on this subject because Doctor Gallagher himself is coming to Baltimore on his way to New York, and on this occasion, I expect he will pay a visit to the Reverend Gentlemen of the College and Grand Seminary.[28]

I have been for the first time to visit our Missions in Charles and St. Mary's Counties. What a pity that priests are so scarce.

I have received from Conewago the painful intelligence that poor Father Brith is unable to do anything in that good congregation. Looking over the laws of Maryland I have found one in 1723, October 26, an act to punish blasphemers. See Vol. II, of the Laws of Maryland. Some are of the opinion that this law could be inforced against the impious Freeman. Could you not inquire and see if anything could be done by these means. Our good Father Ant. Kohlman is very well recovered from his breast indisposition, a thing which gives me a great comfort. Mr. Dubuisson seems to improve a little but very slowly. Your good friend the little Jo Byrne is troubled pretty much with scruples. I had no late news from Europe. I have reason to expect some help from Stonyhurst. Present my respects to Mr. Vespre, and be so kind as to tell him that Mr. Dubuisson has not heard anything of late about the box sent to him from France. I pray you to accept my best thanks for the Work you have been so kind to send us, and I will be obliged to you if you would express the sentiments of my gratitude to the Reverend Gentleman from whom it came.

As the Right Reverend of Boston has given you every information about the Most Rev. Archbishop, I will say nothing here, but that he is very well and rejoicing exceedingly at his success with Dr. Gallagher.[29] Father Wallace has not received back his balloon as yet. I have no more to say at present. I hope you will pardon my delay in answering your letters, a number of which all together were delivered to me, after my return from St. Mary's. Be so good as to present my compliments to all the Rev. Gentlemen, both at the seminary and at the College, and above all pray for me whose situation you can easily believe is not a little cross.

Next Sunday the addition of Rev. Mr. Matthew's church will be blessed. I have recommended him to have the windows clean.

Pray for me, for this College, for the Noviceship, for these Missions, and I remain,

Yours in Xto,
John Grassi, S. J.

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[28] Rev. Simon Felix Gallagher, an Irish priest who came to the United States in 1793 and was assigned by Bishop Carroll to Charleston, where his conduct did not prove edifying. When the bishop suspended him in 1805, Gallagher protested and continued to exercise his functions in disregard of Bishop Carroll's prohibition. This was the beginning of the "Charleston Schism" which lasted until after the establishment of the diocese of Charleston. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.*, pp. 737 ff.

[29] The Bishop of Boston at the time this letter was written was Bishop John Lefebvre de Cheverus, a native of Mayenne, France. He was ap-

XVI

P. X. Georgetown, January 12, 1817

Dear Mr. Bruté,

It seems to me too strange that since we have been writing letters to one another during almost the whole year, I should write nothing to you at this time. True that our good friend the Archbishop Carroll told me on a similar occasion, that American rusticity does not care much about French or Italian etiquette, yet our friendship, if not etiquette, requires that I may drop at least a few lines and wish your Reverence a happy new year, viz., a great deal of patience, of love of God, of advancement in virtue, of labor and success, A. M. D. G.

I am sorry to inform you that Father Ant. Kohlman is relapsed in the same breast's weakness by which he was afflicted last spring and summer; this together with the indisposition of several others of ours renders my situation more painful than ever, and I have but *Levavi oculos meos ad montes unde veniet auxilium mihi.* I have just received a letter from Father Powal, the actual President of Stonyhurst, in which he informs me that one or two professors are coming to our assistance, that a letter had been received by Fr. Stone from our Reverend Father General who is at Polock [Polotsk] so late as last October and that his intention was to try again to get the imperial consent to proceed to the Capitol of the Christian World; but Fr. Powal adds, there is but little prospect of obtaining such a favor.

The most deplorable distress is prevailing in England for want of corn, and employment for labourers. Behold to what is reduced that England which raised the proud head to the sky and thought herself to have attained the pitch of human grandeur and prosperity. Sic transit gloria mundi.

I have a favor to ask of you, viz., that you may be so kind as to send me a prospectus of Emmitsburg and another of Montreal College if you have any at hand. A gentleman wishes to see them for I have suggested to him that he ought to send to either of these places a boy who is actually in this College, who on account of the too great vicinity to home and friends has run away twice in a very short time.

I have been a considerable time without any letters or news from our good friend, Mr. Vespre. I hope however he is as well as usual and studying very hard his divinity. Be so good as to present him my best respects.

Mr. Dubuisson is in White Marsh. His health is about the same as it was before he went to Bedford. Have you heard anything of our good Missioners of Upper Louisiana?[30] I am very anxious to know how they are. It seems quite providential for them that we had till now so mild a winter. One of the priests from Liege viz.: Fr. D'Eten has already improved so much in the English as to be able to hear confession[s] and visit the sick.

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pointed Bishop of Boston in 1808. He later returned to France and became in turn Bishop of Montauban and Archbishop of Bordeaux. He was named cardinal in 1835 and died the following year at Bordeaux.

[30] The group of Vincentian Fathers, including De Andreis and Rosati, who settled in Missouri in 1817.

My respects to all the Reverend Gentlemen of the College and Seminary, and recommending myself to your and their holy Sacrifices, I remain,

Your affectionate servant in Xto.,
John Grassi, S. J.

XVII

Received of John McEtivy. Two Boxes addressed to Rev. Mr. Debach which I promised to deliver to Rev. Mr. Bruté, at St. Mary's College, he paying 1¼ cents per pound. Benjamin Stinchcomb. February 6, 1817.

P. X. Georgetown, February 8, 1817

Reverend and dear Sir,

The Rev. F. P. Kohlman left here the two above mentioned boxes directed to your kind care at the College, where the Conewago waggon frequently is coming, and, where the Procurator having accounts with Conewago, F. Kohlman expected that it would be easier to have everything settled and the boxes sooner forwarded to the place of their destination.[31]

I have no particular news from Europe. F. Andres has been so good as to send to me and I have already received some good Italian books, the books of F. F. Pellegrini and Trento, S. J., an excellent work, or rather a course of Mathematics by Paoli, Professor in the University of Pisa. Also two of his own Academical Memoirs; the first on the Commentaries of Homer by Eustatius, and the second on a Geographical Map (with a fac simile) of 1455. He promises me also a copy of his large work *Dell' origine di progressi e dello stato d'ogni litteratura* called by the Rev. Mr. Eustache in his Classical Tour through Italy *a noble and extensive and a very masterly performance.* To tell you the truth I would prefer to receive from Europe a number of good Missioners than many books for we have no time to read even those which we have.

When F. E. Fenwick was here, I spoke to him about *Le Scuola della dottrina Cristiana,* which I think was first established by St. Charles Borromeo in his Diocese of Milan, and in other dioceses depending from that See. In my opinion it is the best method I know of having children well instructed when parents take care to send them. Was it permitted by my occupations I would establish it here at Georgetown and devote myself to so salutary [an] employment. The above quoted traveller saw this Scuola della dottrina X.na in the Cathedral of Milan, and highly praises such a beneficial Institution.

My best respects to Rev. Mr. Marechal and all the Rev. Gentlemen of the College and Seminary. To Rev. Mr. Vespre Salutem plurimam D. Pray for me my dear Mr. Bruté.

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[31] Conewago, Pennsylvania, a center of Catholic life. The first pastor there seems to have been Father Pellentz, S. J., who died at the parish, March 13, 1800. According to a report of Father Pellentz to Bishop Carroll there were 1000 communicants in the parish. Cf. Guilday, *op. cit.;* also Dilhet-Browne, *Beginnings of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Washington, 1922, p. 194, and Reily, *Conewago. A Collection of Catholic History,* Martinsburg.

The ship *James Monroe* is still in Washington and she is intended for Carolina or Georgia where she is to take her cargo and then to sail for Bordeaux. Please to mention this to Mr. Vespre.

John Grassi, S. J.

XVIII

P. X. March 2, 1817

Dear Mr. Bruté,

I am very grateful for your kind letter, and the news you have written to me. I have received just yesterday a letter of September 20th, of our Father General from Polocx [Polotsk] where he says *sum tamquam captivus*, that government refusing permission to himself to [go to] Rome, or even to send any others abroad. F. Cross Tristam informs me that a new publication has appeared in England, as it were in answer to . . . work in favor of the Society, or rather against [the] Catholic Religion at large, and the Holy See in particular. There is still Father Plowden, though I am afraid that on account of his old age he is losing every day the power of his mind, and the energetic elegance of his pen.[32]

The division of sentiments on the Veto still troubles the Catholic Body. By some private opportunity I will send you the little pamphlets. After you have perused them you will be so kind as to send them back to me.

My best respects to the Reverend, or rather the Right Reverend and to all the other R. R. Gentlemen of the Seminary and College.* I recommend myself to your holy sacrifices, and I remain,

Your affectionate friend,
John Grassi, S. J.

* Father Neale is very poorly, and thus my business increases very much.

XIX

P. X. Georgetown, April 15, 1817

Reverend and dear Bruté,

It will not be useless that you may know that as soon as our Mr. Baxter [Father Baxter, S. J.] heard of your article inserted in the portico[?] on the remarks of C. B. beauties of X.ty [Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity?*] he thought that your publication would be quite sufficient for the purpose of checking Mr. S. impious pen, and then he thinks no more of writing on that subject.

I expect you will have seen in the two last *Intelligencers* an article signed W. in reply to A. who had published the impious conclusion of Mr. La Place's system, etc., in the same paper. He replied to Mr. W. and Mr. W. is preparing a reply to him; the subject can be turned on a highly interesting matter. Besides Lalande were there in Paris any other characters of consideration who made a proud profession [of], or rather endeavoured to find ground for atheism?

You have perhaps a kind of prospectus of a Catholic Magazine to be

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[32] Father Charles Plowden, S. J. (1743-1821). In 1784 he became chaplain and tutor at Lulworth Castle, England. Later rector of Stonyhurst and provincial of the English Jesuits.

published in New York by a Mr. Field, but F. B. Fenwick tells me that he is not a man adequate to the task, and that it shall not begin at all. Mr. Murphy, Cat. [Catholic] Printer in Georgetown, wishes to print a Catholic prayer book; the Right Rev. Bishop of Boston, when here took from me *True Piety* published in Ireland by Rt. Rev. Doctor Coppinger, which indeed has many excellent things, I think this will be printed with some few additions. My best respects to the Rev. Mr. Marechal.[33] Pray for me, and I remain,

John Grassi, S. J.

XX

P. X. Rome, March 30, 1818

Dear Mr. Bruté,

Let it never be said that I may suffer Mr. Barber leaving Rome for America, without giving him a few lines for such a good friend as you are. I refer you to Mr. Barber and Cooper for every information you may wish to have about how things are going on at Rome. I was highly pleased with the zeal with which our young men offered themselves for the American Missions; but besides that there is the greatest want here on account of the many colleges hurried on us, and besides that I think America must be stocked up pretty well with missioners arrived since my departure as I was informed. I am sorry to say that among ours there are almost only two kinds of persons, either very old and half infirm, or too young who have scarcely made their novitiate, and not completed their studies. The priests who entered the societies [Society?] being of an absolute necessity in this country for the most important ministries of the Societies [Society?]. I would have left Italy myself with Messrs. Barber and Cooper; but on account of some affairs of great consequence of ours in England I must remain some time longer here, and according to the instructions I do expect in a short time from our Fr. General I shall hasten or postpone my departure for America.

Accept the assurance of my friendship and respect for you, and recommending myself to your holy sacrifices, I am,

Your most affectionate friend,
J. Grassi, S. J.

XXI

P. X. Naples, July 10, 1832

Reverend and dear Sir,

Having an opportunity of sending letters to America, I did think it would not displease you to receive a few lines from an old friend of yours. Though I did not write you for several years, yet I always remember you, and I was very glad to hear from ours at Georgetown that you were doing very well, and that your Emmitsburg College was in a flourishing state.

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[33] Father Ambrose Maréchal, S. S., born near Orleans, France, August 28, 1764, taught after ordination in the institutions of the Sulpicians, both in France and at Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Consecrated Archbishop of Baltimore, December 14, 1817. Cf. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, New York, 1886-1892, Vol. III.

I had the pleasure of seeing more than once Félicité de LaMennais, and we spoke much about you. Last winter I was happy to have in this College, Msgr. Tarvin, formerly Archbishop of Strasbourg, and Instructor of the young Duke of Bordeaux, and your friend. He is now gone to the upper part of Italy, in hope that things would be changed in France, and he could return there. De LaMennais is still in the vicinity of Rome in some Villa. The agitated state of the Pontifical dominions, on account chiefly of the most unexpected invasion of Ancona by the French troops against every right of nations, etc., etc., is the cause for which the affair of de LaMennais is not decided as yet; and perhaps no decision will be given, but it will fall into oblivion, as it happened in other like circumstances.[34]

Next month I shall return to Turin, but after a year I shall be obliged to visit Naples again. Wherever I shall be, I will always be glad to have your news, and you will remember me in your holy sacrifices, and consider me as

Your most humble servant in Christ,
John Grassi, S. J.

[34] Bruté was also acquainted with de La Mennais and made earnest efforts to bring him back to the Church.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru 1531-1651. United States Government Printing Office, x+366 pp. $3.25.

Mr. Edward S. Harkness presented the manuscripts herewith calendared to the Library of Congress upon the suggestion of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. Dr. J. F. Jameson contributes to the preface and Mr. Herbert Putnam furthers the publication through the Government Printing Office. Thus the volume is the product of generous and intelligent cooperation.

Miss Stella R. Clemence is responsible for the editorial work with some assistance from Dr. David Rubio of the Catholic University of America. The task was one that called for accurate scholarship combined with "infinite and painstaking research." Miss Clemence has done her work well. The description of each document includes the names of principals and witnesses, with difference in type, both in the text and index to show their relative importance. All classes of individuals from viceroy to humblest sailor or Indian or African slave are included. The summaries of contents touch on all the stirring phases of the conquest with enough description to whet the appetite for a proposed second volume, presenting text and translation of the chief pieces relating to Almagro and the Pizarros. With the third volume, calendaring the Mexican portion, the collection will be fairly acccessible. The interested student will wish to consult a similar collection for Peru in the Huntington Library at San Marino and a smaller one in the New York Public Library.

Notarial instruments, largely from Lima, make up three-fourths of the calendar. A few royal cedulas, a larger number of viceregal decrees, and some documents taken from two *Libros de Cabildo* complete the calendared material. The cabildo minutes themselves "defy condensation" but the editor has given a list of all persons mentioned in them. This list she also incorporates in the general index and she has prepared a helpful list of the various notaries before whom the documents were legalized. Thus implemented the book constitutes a highly efficient bibliographic tool for the stirring century that followed

the conquest of Peru. We shall await with interest its companion volumes.

ISAAC J. COX, Ph. D.

Northwestern University

Voodoos and Obeahs. By Joseph J. Williams, S. J., Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, New York, 1933. $3.00.

Last summer the present writer had occasion to read William Buchler Seabrook's much discussed *Magic Island,* which pretended to give an authentic account "by an eyewitness," of the weird rites of Voodoo practiced by the Negroes of Haiti. The descriptions were so gruesome and the details so horrid that it required real courage to continue the perusal of the story. Fortunately for those interested in the study of these aberrations of the human mind, a writer who knows the country well and is widely read in the pertinent literature, examines the subject anew and reaches conclusions which will set at rest many minds and put a stop to wild speculations concerning these hideous rites.

Father Williams does well by beginning his account with a reference to the book by Seabrook. For that work, though written with apparent candor, presented such a mass of amazing incidents as to tax the credulity of the reader. Father Williams refers to a fact well known to every ethnological investigator, namely, the readiness with which unschooled minds will impart the "information" expected of them, especially if they are "paid by results." He himself had an experience of this kind with a teacher in a "bush" school when he was gathering folklore material some years ago.

After liberal quotations from the sources, vouching for the existence of the grossest forms of Voodooism in Haiti, the author refers to sensation-seeking tourists who may be responsible for a staging of Voodoo rites. "Perchance the Haitian brethren of the cult may not be averse to turning an honest penny by staging, in the hopes of a small consideration, a Voodoo Spectacle to satisfy the demands of tourists who in all good faith fancy that they have been admitted to the most secret mysteries. This would explain much that Seabrook has reported."

Naturally, a discussion of the out-of-the-way, esoteric practices described in this book requires its own terminology. And so we read about myalism (the old tribal religion of the Ash-

anti of Africa), of the duppy (a spirit invoked in obeah practice), of the Don Pedro (a violent Voodoo dance connected with vile orgies). It seems that the author has given us what an American Journal called for in this matter, "a tempered, intelligent presentation" of this mysterious people and their fantastic rites. However, the book would have been much more readable if the many, long footnotes and quotations, occurring on almost every page, had either been limited or relegated to an appendix.

There is, of course, likewise an historical significance attaching to the phenomena of Voodoos and Obeahs in America, for this sorcery and magical art have been traced to West Africa. Father Williams makes reference *passim* to the Ashanti, an important nation north of the British Gold Coast, and has a chapter on serpent-cult at Whydah, the chief seaport of Dahomey. The practices were introduced into the West Indies by African slaves, and from there they no doubt spread to the southern United States.

ALBERT MUNTSCH, S. J., M. A.

St. Louis University

Charles Carroll of Carrollton: 1737-1832. By Joseph Gurn, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York. $3.50.

I had just finished reading a volume of Pastor's *History of the Popes,* when the biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton was laid on my desk. I was tired of notes, small print, and references, all of which in Pastor crowd out the text and at times leave but one or two lines of reading. I welcomed, then, the full page and large type book of Mr. Gurn with the references worked in as a part of the text.

The history of the Popes and the life of an American statesman may call for a difference in the manner of treatment, but Gurn is by no means unscientific. His notes and references show a wide scope of reading and research. If a future life of Carroll should be called for, the writer will find that Mr. Gurn has covered the field of investigation. He has produced a classical biography.

Fourteen years ago we had a life of Carroll by Lewis A. Leonard, but the author was unfortunate in his choice of a publisher, and the book was soon out of the market. The present volume from the firm of Kenedy and Sons guarantees a per-

manence of production and sale and will be obtainable for many decades by those who are interested in the life of the "Last Signer of the Declaration of Independence."

Since the day that I knelt in the private chapel of the Carroll manor I have had a deepened interest in the life of the great man before whose remains I had prayed. Charles Carroll of Carrollton has always reminded me of that other great statesman, Blessed Thomas More. Both men enjoyed wealth and honor. Both were devout and unflinching servants of God. I believe that Carroll would have bent his neck to the ax of the executioner as readily as he put his pen to the great American document.

When misunderstandings arose between the colonies and the mother country, Carroll foresaw that they would culminate in final separation. At the darkest hour of the war when it seemed probable that France would come to the help of the colonies, he outlined a plan of action by which the French fleet would cooperate at New York, hem in the English troops, and enable Washington to throw all his forces against an enemy from whom escape was impossible. This campaign was carried out a year later at Yorktown where the English forces had camped. After that battle Carroll said that the cause of the colonies was won.

While it may ever be an open question, it is held by many, whose authority has strong weight, that had it not been for the influence of Carroll the French would never have come to the aid of the colonies. Moreover, he was considered by many as better fitted to represent America in France than was Franklin, for Carroll was more tactful, more learned, and above all more cultured. Finally, he showed by unswerving duty in his service of God that he placed religion and the service of his Creator first in his life. In his old age he wrote the following words: "I have lived to my ninety-sixth year; I have enjoyed continued health; I have been blessed with great wealth, prosperity,—and most of the good things which the world can bestow—public approbation, esteem, applause. But what I now look back on with the greatest satisfaction to myself is that I have practiced the duties of my religion."

Here is an ideal life for every American Catholic man.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J., M. A.

Milford Novitiate
Milford, Ohio

Le Père Samuel-Charles-Gaétan Mazzuchelli, O. P. Par Soeur Rosemary Crepeau, O. P., Docteur-ès-lettres, J. de Gigord, Paris, 1932, xvi+339 pp.

In his remarkable introduction to the English translation by Sister Mary Benedicta, O. P. of the *Memorie istoriche d'un missionario apostolico,* the Most Reverend John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, writes: "The sole regret the volume evokes as we turn over its pages is that it did not have a successor in another volume from the pen of its author, Mazzuchelli, giving the narrative of his life and labors subsequent to the year 1844." The present volume which presumably obtained for its author the much-coveted degree of *docteur-ès-lettres* is a scholarly attempt to portray faithfully and completely the life of this missionary.

Like so many other priests who were instrumental in establishing the faith in North America, Father Mazzuchelli was of European extraction. Born in Milan in 1806, he joined the Dominican order in 1823. His studies, begun in his native land, were completed at Somerset, Ohio. Ordained to the priesthood in 1830 by Bishop Fenwick, O. P., the young missionary was entrusted with an immense territory comprising much of the North Middle States. For some thirty years he labored among a population of Catholics, Protestants and natives, scattered over Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio. To him befell the heavy task of teaching and defending the truth, building schools and churches, taking part in religious and civic affairs. He fell a victim of his zeal on the 23rd of February, 1864, after a week's illness, contracted while bearing the consolations of his priestly office to a dying member of his flock.

Sister Rosemary's book is a laborious and painstaking piece of research. She has ransacked numerous archives and public documents and gathered information from every possible source, newspapers, historical magazines, parish and civil registers. She has also made a liberal use of the Mazzuchelli "Memoirs" to present important historical data on the foundation of missions and to draw a picture of the social, religious and political conditions of the time. The accumulation of documents and footnotes in the text is impressive.

The author passes a rather severe judgment on the Canadians that had settled in Green Bay, Sault Sainte-Marie and Pointe Saint-Ignace: "Le Père Mazzuchelli aurait pour paroissiens dans toutes ces régions une communauté hétérogène com-

posée d'Européens, de Canádiens et d'une race mixte, née de l'union de Canadiens français avec les femmes indigènes. Les deux tiers de la population canadienne avaient contracté de ces alliances," p. 22. As to mixed-blood marriages, there is no doubt that there was a certain number, but it is questionable whether the percentage was as high as two-thirds of the population. Of the remaining third, the author writes: "Une meilleure classe de Canadiens, de bonne et vieille souche française, habitait également le Michigan et le Wisconsin, et méritait la plus haute considération. Les Canadiens ont, pour la plupart, conservé intactes les plus pures traditions françaises quant à la famille et à sa vie religieuse et morale," p. 40.

The book is well equipped with pictures, maps and a comprehensive bibliography, but there is no index.

PAUL A. BARRETTE, M. A.

Saint Louis University

Across Three Centuries: A History of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, 1625-1930. By Sister Saint Ignatius, D. C., Benziger Brothers, New York, 1932.

The Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, whose main purpose has been and is the education of the young, was founded by Madame de Villeneuve at Vaugirard, France, in 1641. Not until 1855 was a branch established in the United States, and then quite naturally in Louisiana. Above all others the personalities of Mother Mary Hyacinth and Bishop Martin of Natchitoches, Louisiana, stand out in the American venture. Within a relatively short time, about 1860, the American branch became autonomous. Inability of the motherhouse in France to help the American branch realize its destiny was the compelling reason for the separation.

The guiding spirit of the American foundation was Mother Mary Hyacinth who from the time of her postulancy in 1838 to the time of her death in 1897 was truly a much-tried though heroic and achieving Daughter of the Cross. Others within the community whose contributions illumine many pages of this history were Sisters Anna and Mary Agatha. These Sisters and their successors have kept the community close to the original purpose of Madame de Villeneuve in founding the congregation. As a matter of fact not a little of the space given over to the American foundation contains the story of the successive

foundings and later history of educational institutions in the state of Louisiana.

Throughout the volume one notices an inspirational turn achieved by the use of pious considerations. That suggests that Sister Saint Ignatius had in mind a service to the Sisters of her own and other communities. That purpose has been realized.

The pages of the volume describing the voyages of the Sisters, the sufferings of the Daughters during the French Revolution, the trials endured in the yellow fever epidemic of 1873, are among the most interesting.

Some inaccuracies have been noted. Thus the date of separation of the American branch from the French motherhouse is variously stated. Was the date 1861 (p. 233) or 1868 (p. 212), or 1860 (p. 274)? The date of the contract given on p. 171 should read 1855 instead of 1885. But all in all, one feels that accuracy in general has been attained.

Many letters and communications enhance the value of the volume. For Upper Mississippi Valley readers the venture of the community into South Dakota at Ipswich in 1920 is an item of interest. It was the only venture into the North and lasted but four years.

CHARLES F. GRIFFITH, M. A.

Saint Ambrose College
Davenport, Iowa

The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States. By Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne, B. V. M., Ph. D., Dean of Students, Mundelein College, Chicago, ,Illinois. Twin City Printing Company, Champaign, Illinois, 1932, 190 pp. $1.50.

During the past few years much has been added to the history of the Church in the United States through the publication of books on the pioneer bishops and religious leaders of our country. All these histories make interesting and inspiring reading besides contributing valuable material towards the general history of Catholicism in America. Catholics may well be proud of the works dared and achieved by the heroic prelates to whom God confided the care of the infant Church in our land. Foremost among these for his scholarly attainments, eminent piety, and staunch patriotism was Bishop Lancaster Spalding of Peoria. It is a little known or forgotten phase of the varied

career of this prelate that Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne brings to light in her thorough and well-written monograph, *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States.*

Keenly alive to the evils and dangers, physical, moral, and religious, that surrounded the Irish emigrants crowded in the tenements of the eastern cities, Bishop Spalding strove to ameliorate their condition by the foundation of a society to enable them to settle on the fertile lands of the West. The book under review is a moving narrative of this scheme of colonization, from the first unfolding of the idea in the mind of Bishop Spalding till it took concrete shape in a national convention held in Chicago in 1879, and achieved final success in the establishment of Irish colonies in Nebraska, Minnesota, and Arkansas. That the project did not attain the measure of success it deserved was due to no fault of the organizers but to the lack of funds, the apathy of influential Catholics, and the opposition of some eastern bishops.

This attractive volume, enriched with plans and drawings of the settlements, and an adequate bibliography, is the result of painstaking research among perishable documents hidden away in scrap-books and newspapers and is a valuable contribution to our collection of modern historical works on the Irish race in America.

ALEXANDER POPE

Chicago, Illinois

The Pre-Revolutionary Irish in Massachusetts, 1620-1775. Dissertation presented to the faculty of the Graduate School of St. Louis University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By George F. Donovan, A. B., A. M. 1931, 160 pp.

Dr. Donovan's work is a complete and exhaustive study of various available records in an attempt to ascertain the size of the Irish element in Massachusetts in the period before the Revolution. The author's purpose is also, he says, "to correct wrong impressions and to establish a firmer basis from which future research or activity in the same or similar fields will begin." He has used the vital records of various towns, the passenger lists of vessels landing in Massachusetts during the period, the muster rolls of various expeditions against the French, and other minor sources. Using such data as a basis, he has made a con-

servative estimate of the number of Irish in the colony in the years between 1620 and 1775.

The writer recognizes the difficulties in determining Irish identity. He has found it necessary to depend to a great extent on family names as a means of determining the racial origin of the persons concerned. In the course of the study the difficulties attendant upon such procedure are again and again apparent. During most of the period in question, marriages of persons who were of Irish birth or ancestry to persons of non-Irish birth or ancestry were much more frequent than marriages in which both parties were Irish. The result of many such marriages would be, of course, family names giving no indication of Irish blood. Again, the list of the names of the incorporators of the Charitable Irish Society (p. 26) contains the names of several persons who, if we were forced to judge from family names alone, we should say had no Irish blood. Finally, the presence of negro slaves with Irish names—probably derived from those of their masters—indicates another difficulty (p. 30). Dr. Donovan has appreciated all these pitfalls and has carefully allowed for them.

The work is divided into three main chapters: one devoted to Plymouth and Boston; the second to settlements in Northeastern and Southeastern Massachusetts; a third to Central and Western Massachusetts. An additional chapter treats the Irish element in its relation to the King Philip's War and to the Irish donation of 1676. The section on Plymouth and Boston is the longest in the work, comprising almost half the content. In the earliest days there were very few Irish. It is probable that most of those who came in the earlier years were Presbyterians. Dr. Donovan refers to a map of Boston which showed sixteen places of worship existing between 1743 and 1769, one of which was called the "Irish Meeting House" (p. 42). Some famous people of later days are shown to have had Irish blood, e. g. John Hancock was descended from Irish ancestors; Artemas Ward, who had command of the American forces at Cambridge until the arrival of Washington, married into a family with Irish blood. An interesting feature is the high percentage of soldiers of Irish names found in the list of those who took part in the expedition against Louisburg (pp. 27-29).

The high point of Irish immigration to Massachusetts was in the decade between 1760 and 1770. In 1776 25% of the

passengers landing in Massachusetts had Irish names. A final summary of the number of Irish in Boston is given in a series of tables (pp. 54-55). Dr. Donovan estimates that the Irish population of Boston in 1770 was 1368, representing 8.8% of the population.

In the remaining chapters Dr. Donovan follows the same methods and lists the strength of the Irish element in each town or in selected towns of each district. The percentage is much smaller than in Boston. Some of the towns show practically no residents with Irish names in 1765, e. g., in Abington there was one, in Warren, two, in Rutland, three. An interesting mention of an Irish resident in Ipswich is that of John Fitz-Patrick, "an Irish boy" of fifteen years who ran away from his master Richard Rogers and who was described as "short, thick, well set Fellow, pretty full of talk." The total number of Irish in Massachusetts outside of Boston in 1765 is estimated as 1830, approximately 1.7% of the population.

In the final estimates of the number of Irishmen in Massachusetts in 1765 (p. 139), there seems to be an inaccuracy. The number of Irish is given as 2198 instead of 3198. The latter figure would give a percentage of 2.6 for the study instead of 1.8 as given in the text. This correction would bring Dr. Donovan's estimate closer to that in Volume I of the 1931 Report of the American Historical Association (p. 270), where the number of Irish in Massachusetts in 1790 (twenty years after Dr. Donovan's final year) is given as 3.9%. It is interesting to note that Dr. Donovan's estimate is much more conservative than that of Howard F. Baker in the above report.

WILLIAM H. J. KENNEDY, Ph. D.
Teachers College of the City of Boston

The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe, 1919-1931. (Vol. II, Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association, edited by Peter Guilday, Ph. D.). P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York, 1932. $2.75.

This volume presents a good comprehensive view of the position of the Catholics in the leading European countries, the difficulties which confront our brethren in each nation, and the means both of spiritual activity and external organization which these various Catholic groups are taking either to defend their faith or to propagate it in the hearts of men. It is really a

very inspiring book, one from which priest or layman in our own country can draw many valuable lessons for Catholic Action. The fine system of Catholic societies in Belgium and Germany offers excellent material for comparison with our own societies, both as to methods and as to aims. The mistakes which Catholics have made in these European countries have been set down honestly; they ought to serve as warnings to us in facing our own peculiar difficulties. Certainly much heartening inspiration can be obtained from the sincere loyal faith of the Catholics in Ireland, England, Germany and from the tried devotion of the sincere Catholics in Italy, Spain and France.

The writers of the papers are leading American Catholic scholars who possess a special knowledge of the field which they treat. This alone guarantees the worth of the various chapters. The Church in Belgium is treated by Msgr. Victor Day; in England by Professor Daniel Sargent of Harvard University; in France by Rev. Charles Souvay, C. M.; in Germany by Rev. Francis Betten, S. J.; in Ireland by Dr. James F. Kenney, Ph. D.; in Italy by Rev. Wilfred Parsons, S.J., editor of *America;* in Poland by Leonid Strahkovsky, Doctor en Histoire; in Russia by Rev. Edmund Walsh, S. J.; in Spain by Marie Madden, Ph. D.

There is little to criticize adversely in the book. Dr. Strahkovsky does not seem to comprehend the justcie of the claims of Ruthenian nationality. Dr. Walsh's paper is perhaps a bit too long, though it is thoroughly interesting.

MARTIN P. HARNEY, S. J., M. A.

Boston College
Chestnut Heights, Mass.

The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America (1523-1857). A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By the Rev. Joseph A. Griffin, Ph. D., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1932.

To the serious works dealing with the history of the Catholic Church in America, the Rev. Joseph A. Griffin has added a long and scholarly dissertation of the greatest importance.

A fact not generally known is that in the groups of early missionaries in the United States, in that saintly company of

indefatigable Jesuits, courageous Recollets, zealous Dominicans, and other devoted priests, there were many Belgians. Some of the latter reached the high office of bishop in New Orleans, Detroit, Newark, Chicago, San Francisco, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Virginia, etc. Father Damien (Joseph Deveuster), whose sacrifices among the lepers evoked the admiration of the world, was also a son of Belgium.

Until recently the extent of the Belgian influence in the development of Catholicism in the United States had never been made the subject of a thorough examination. This gap is now well covered by the studious researches of Father Griffin.

Starting with the "Belgian Missionary Pioneers of 1523-1633," the author describes in a charming style the vast humanitarian work done by the Belgians in America prior to 1857; with that year began an entirely new epoch in the participation of Belgium in the development of the Church in the New World through the foundation of the American College of Louvain where American and Belgian students are trained for the holy labor of the Catholic missions in the United States.

Of deep interest are the chapters concerning "The Belgian Clergy in the Thirteen Original States," "The Labors of Rev. Charles Nerinckx," and "Pierre Jean De Smet and the Jesuits in the Trans-Mississippi West."

In his excellent book the author also presents instructive facts pertaining to the history of Belgium and to some of our settlements together with numerous biographical sketches. Chronological data are profusely spread all through his valuable work.

HENRY G. BAYER

New York University

Donjon of Demons: a Hero's Tale from the Jesuit Relations. By Benedict Fitzpatrick. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1931, viii+306 pp. $3.00.

The story of the eight North American martyrs has been told by several capable writers in a few years following their beatification and canonization. Father Wynne, who was a curator at the shrine at Auriesville, N. Y., for a number of years, contributed a notable book; Mrs. Thomas Concannon's *White Horsemen* was a very readable book; Father Martin Scott, S. J., and Father Neil Boynton, S. J. have each told the story of St.

Isaac Jogues in splendid accounts of his life; nor must we overlook the series of ten-cent pamphlets recently issued by the Jesuit Mission Press of New York, giving brief biographies of these stalwart heroes of the seventeenth century.

A variation in biographical method is found in the book under review. Call it a novel or a biography, call it what you will; it is a most interesting book; full of thrills and glowing description of the hero's trials it will delight young and old. Mr. Fitzpatrick has made good use of the mine of information that is stored in the Relations concerning the history and topography of the Indian country and the tribal divisions and customs of the Great Lakes tribes.

Beginning the story on that day in 1633 when the "Giant of God," St. John Brebeuf, returned to Quebec with Champlain, the book tells us of his trials, privations, and apostolate during the last years of his life. The title is mystifying, and it is only in the course of the story that one learns that the author calls the "jungle of superstition" through which the missionaries "had to fight their way" a "donjon of demons." The man of God was "a man of action above and beyond all . . . happiest in the midst of danger and where the work is heaviest" (p. 6). We follow him in his irksome journey to the Huron mission-field in the heart of the Great Lakes region "where the congregation of stable and populous agricultural towns, clusters of bark cabins within stout palisades, provided a far more hopeful field of missionary effort than the migratory huts of the Indians following game trails along the river" (p. 36). We watch him and his companions in the mission house at Ihonatiria in their fatherly intercourse with the savages, struggling nobly against the vicious habits and diabolic superstitions of the latter. We are given an eye-witness's description of such things as the Feast of the Dead, the torture of captives, the campaigns of war-parties thirsting for blood. We see the difficulties under which the missionaries worked.

The last few chapters of the book tell of the activity of the Iroquois as they pillaged town after town of the Hurons. "They attacked with the ferocity of tigers and wolves, and disappeared as swiftly as birds. Treachery was their peculiar weapon. They struck with strength and boldness and were beyond the reach of their enemy's weapon before he had time to employ it" (p. 274). The martyrdom of St. Antoine Daniel in the

church he had helped to build and where he had worked for eight years is told vividly.

FRANCIS A. FLANNERY, S. J.
St. Louis University

The Comte de Vergennes: European Phases of His American Diplomacy (1774-1780). A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By John J. Meng. Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1932, 129 pp.

This volume, based upon research pursued in France and the United States, bears the characteristic of scholarly detachment. No *a priori* judgments are presented to vitiate the worth of the investigation. Facts are clearly presented, and the author does not try to wrest unusual interpretations from them. The Comte de Vergennes in not a hero, achieving by his own unaided effort the political independence of the United States of America. He is rather a French Minister of Foreign Affairs endeavoring to weaken in every way the ancient enemy across the Channel.

The bibliographical essay presented indicates the respect that the author has for thorough investigation. Source material is naturally considered of supreme importance by the writer, but he is willing to give due credit to workers who have preceded him in the field. The more worthwhile studies bordering on the subject matter of this investigation are mentioned and evaluated.

Most readers are apt to appreciate particularly the account of the efforts made by de Vergennes to bring about an alliance of the French and Spanish forces against England. During the early years of the American Revolution the Spanish and French Bourbons did not see eye to eye in the matter. Charles III was as unwilling as Louis XVI was willing to embark upon a campaign which might bring about the lessening of British prestige upon the high seas. It took all the diplomacy of the capable Vergennes, as well as a succession of prime ministers in Spain, and a change of monarchs in Portugal, to induce the Spaniards half-heartedly to enter the war against England. Even then, Spain did not commit herself until October, 1778, whereas France had definitely given her support to the American cause in the preceding February. The author also makes very clear

the fact that Spain was willing to aid France, but had not the slightest desire to help the struggling colonies in America. Spain regarded the American colonies as her enemies in practically the same light that she regarded English colonies everywhere as her enemies. This enmity of Spain toward the American colonies, both before and after they had achieved independence, must be kept in mind in any interpretation of the conduct of the American delegates to the peace negotiations at the end of the American Revolution.

The work of the Comte de Vergennes in inducing Catherine II of Russia to enter the League of Armed Neutrality, and thus further bringing about the political isolation of England, is presented clearly, concisely, and accurately. The helpful influence that this had on the American cause is stressed. The work of de Vergennes was remarkable in that he secured an alignment of threatening powers against England, and thereby achieved the French objective of greater freedom for France on the ocean, and also an important objective, as far as we were concerned, in the forced relinquishment by England of her troublesome and unprofitable American colonies. The volume under consideration is an addition to American as well as European history and politics.

PAUL KINIERY, Ph. D.

Loyola University
Chicago

Franciscan Poets. By Benjamin F. Musser, Tertiary of Saint Francis, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

A poet's viewpoint must always be interesting; it is generally memorable. If he choose to disguise himself in prose, the disguise somehow falls away. Mr. Benjamin F. Musser, poet-author, has written a book about poets that must prove interesting to the average reader of literature, but to lovers of poetry, Franciscan and otherwise, *Franciscan Poets* will prove both interesting and memorable. At the same time, it has an appeal as history.

The author, by happy chance a poet and a tertiary, unites in himself two not uncongenial enthusiasms—indeed, as he sets forth in his book, two mutually complementary enthusiasms—that of the poet and that of the Franciscan. We are assured, thereby, at the outset that he comes with a fine understanding

of both Franciscans and poets in general, and in particular of the high ideals and achievements of Franciscan poets.

That the Franciscan ideal is the distinguishing mark of the Franciscan poet, and not his mere affiliation with the Order, forms the evident theme of the volume. In one case only, that of Petrarch, does the author, relentlessly pursuing his theme, seek for that ideal in vain. The resulting contrast of this isolated instance is striking,—and salutary.

Poetic purists will undoubtedly be delighted with Mr. Musser's plea for the preservation of the Petrarchan sonnet. In Chapter VI under the caption "The Creator and the Carver of Sonnets" he all but canonizes the "true" sonnet in its original Italian dress, "the queen of poetic forms"; and in the same breath, so to speak, he consigns the counterfeit English "fourteener" of Shakespeare *et al* to a literary hell.

In the light of the modern revolt against form whether in literature or the drama, the author's presentment of the case for the sonnet is both refreshing and timely. Surely "Something there is that does not love a wall" may not be quoted, as it is, in season and out, by our literary bolshevists, in defense of formlessness, where form is the very essence of the thing. At this point the fine frenzy of the poet-author yields to a sort of fine irony. "A modernist tells me," he writes, "that if E. E. Cummings were to perpetrate a 156-line poem made up mostly of semicolons, and he were to call it a sonnet, it would be a sonnet *because Cummings said it was.*"

Franciscan Poets is a distinct contribution to Franciscan history. It not only brings the popular "Franciscana" up to date, but it serves to complement and extend the earlier work of Frederic Ozanam (1847), who had confined his theme to the friar-poets of the thirteenth century.

URBAN H. KILLACKY, S. J., M. A.

Loyola University
Chicago

The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, Vol. XXX. Published by the Society, New York City, 1932, 279 pp.

During the thirty-five years of its existence the American Irish Historical Society has rendered an important service in collecting and publishing data which will be helpful to the future historian who would attempt the task of evaluating the mani-

fold contributions of the Irish race to American history. The volume before us contains the thirty-fourth annual report of the society and includes several short papers which have more than a local interest. The Honorable Daniel F. Cohalan contributes an article on General John Sullivan, which includes copious extracts from original documents. Bernadine Rice writes a good sketch entitled "The Irish in Texas." There is also a short paper by Edward Thomas O'Connor on Michael Tuomey, first state geologist of Texas.

Those interested in the colorful career of General Thomas Francis Meagher will welcome the publication of some rather important letters which the General wrote to his friend and fellow officer, General James R. O'Beirne. In one of these dated October 9, 1863, the following significant statement is made:

"Military life is my true life—It is, perhaps, the only honest, generous, noble life we can lead—especially under the present circumstances in America, where civil life has, for the most part, become so selfish and corrupt owing to the vast amount of political patronage distributed through it and the swarms of claimants this patronage breeds into vermin or savage life."

George O'Dwyer writes on "Irish Migrations to America (1861-1865)." The article, "Towers of Silence Speak," by James H. McCann enumerates a long list of monuments erected in the United States to the memory of men and women of Irish birth or descent. Here we have a record, which can be made valuable through the vigilance of members in reporting additions to be catalogued and preserved for reference.

HUGH GRAHAM, Ph. D.

John Carroll University
Cleveland, Ohio

Historical Records and Studies. Vol. XXII, edited by Thomas F. Meehan. The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1932, 286 p.

This, the twenty-second volume of the United States Catholic Historical Society's publications, comprises six major articles, five of which are studies of special subjects in the ecclesiastical history of the United States, while the sixth is an erudite discussion of incunabula in general and a tabulation of the "Dominican Incunabula in the Library of Congress" in par-

ticular. This lengthy article by Rev. Charles M. Daley, O. P., is very interesting and informative. The text proper is succeeded by notes on the forty-eighth general meeting, and on the Society's publications for the year, and by a membership list.

The opening pages of the volume are devoted to a paper delivered by Rev. Robert H. Lord as speaker of the evening at the last annual meeting of the Society. It bears the title "Religious Liberty in New England: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834." Then follows "Father Joseph Prost, Pioneer Redemptorist in the United States" by Rev. Raymond Knab, C. SS. R. "New Light on Mother Seton" by Arthur J. Burns clears up the genealogy of the Seton family from hitherto unnoticed sources. (It is of current interest to note the name of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt upon a distant branch of the tree.) Rev. Gerald J. Geary contributes a paper on "Transfer of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in California (1840-1853)." "Archbishop Troy and the American Church (1808-1823)" by Rev. Daniel Joseph Connors, O. M. I., S. T. L., vindicates the name of the Dublin prelate so far as connivance in the American appointments is concerned.

EDWARD H. YOUNG, M. A.

Paola, Kansas

Contributors to This Issue

Reverend Thomas F. Cleary, Ph. D., Philo, Ill., is making researches in the history of the Catholic Church in Illinois during the post-revolutionary period, 1783-1790.

Sister M. Aquinata Martin, O. P., M. A., North Cambridge, Mass., adds to knowledge of her subject through documentary research, intimate acquaintance with its local background obtained in a nineteen-year residence in Greeley, Spalding and other localities of eastern Nebraska.

Thomas F. O'Connor, M. A., is a teaching-fellow in the Department of History, St. Louis University.

Reverend Frederic Siedenburg, S. J., M. A., President of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and Executive Dean, University of Detroit, is widely known for his activities in the field of sociological instruction and research.

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